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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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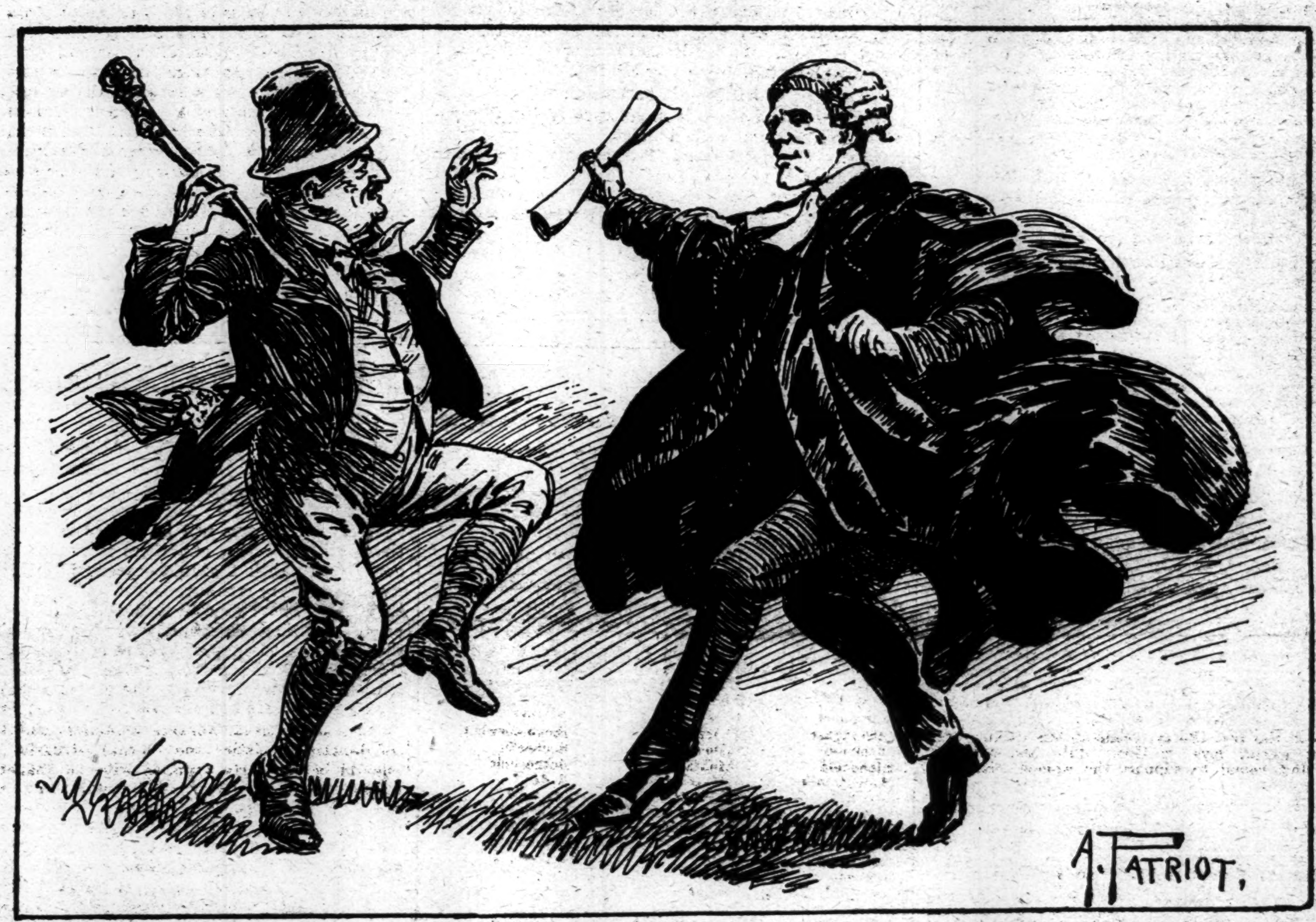
WHEN FOES UNITE



MR. JOHN REDMOND
MR. F. E. SMITH } **"We may differ about the independence of Irish men, but we are agreed on the subjection of Irish women."**

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Before separating for the recess the Liberal Suffragist Members of Parliament came to a decision with regard to the private Member's Bill for next session. Though realising that a "single Bill supported by all parties" would be "the most desirable course," they considered such a proposal difficult of attainment, and determined instead on a Bill "most likely to commend itself to Liberal Suffragists," to be drafted in such a way as to "afford to other groups of Suffragists a fair opportunity for amendment in Committee."

Provisions of the Bill

The group decided to endorse a Bill conferring the Parliamentary franchise on

(1) Women, whether married or unmarried, who if they were men would be entitled to be registered and to vote in respect of a household qualification, i.e., as inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses; and

(2) The wives of such inhabitant occupiers residing on the same premises as their husbands.

The Bill to confine this new franchise to women over twenty-five years of age.

It was further decided to entrust the drafting of this new Bill to Sir John Simon, who drafted the Government's ill-fated Franchise Bill of the present session.

Comparison with the Male Franchise

Such a Bill, if it were passed, would create a franchise for women essentially different from that for men. The male franchise is possessed by all men of twenty-one years of age or over who qualify in one or other of the following capacities: (1) Occupiers (who may or may not be "inhabitant" occupiers); (2) owners; (3) lodgers; (4) University graduates. The women voters would be confined to those who either themselves or whose husbands belong to one subdivision of the first class, viz., "inhabitant occupiers." A further differentiation would be effected by the restriction to women over twenty-five years of age—a particularly humiliating provision in view of the well-known fact that women mature earlier than men.

Procedure to be Adopted

Considerable uncertainty prevails as to the procedure to be adopted. According to the *Times* and several other papers, there is a prospect that the Labour Party will also introduce a Bill providing Adult Suffrage, and the Unionist Suffragists a Bill conferring the vote on women along the lines of the Conciliation Bill; and it is suggested that the fortune of the ballot alone will decide which of these three measures will obtain facilities. The *Nation*, on the other hand, states definitely that it is the Liberal Bill, whose principal provisions are given above, to which alone facilities will be given. And we take it that this view is correct.

Our View

We do not propose to attempt to follow politicians into the whirlpool of cross currents which the introduction of the Bill will produce. Such a proceeding would only be worth while if we could bring ourselves to believe that the Bill had any chance of passage into law, and of this we have no hope whatever. With Suffragists in the House belonging to different parties and favouring different measures of enfranchisement, with anti-Suffragists determined to convert the measure in Committee into a form least likely to be acceptable, with the Irish Party and a group of Liberals determined at all costs to support Mr. Asquith, we know that Woman Suffrage can never become law until the party in power see that their own continued existence depends on the passage of such a measure without delay. To bring them to such a state of mind is the object which we have set before ourselves and before the women of the country.

An Echo of the Past

We are indebted to the *Irish Citizen* and the *Dublin Sunday Independent* for drawing our attention to a very important article contributed by Mr. T. P. O'Connor to the *Chicago Tribune* at the time when the Government's Franchise Bill was under discussion. This article provides irrefutable evidence of the existence of a plot among the Nationalists to kill Woman Suffrage in the supposed interests of Home Rule.

How the Plot was Hatched

Mr. T. P. O'Connor begins by speaking of the original expectation that the Grey amendment would be carried, but then

> a movement against the acceptance of Grey's amendment started even among the Liberals, who are pledged to Woman Suffrage, and still more among the Irish. This movement was mainly inspired by the feeling that Premier Asquith is the greatest asset of the Liberal Party, and the most powerful and trustworthy friend of the Irish cause, and that any amendment which would force on him acceptance of Woman Suffrage in view of his well-known hostility would be bound to humiliate and weaken him.

He then deals with the Speaker's ruling which had just been given, saying that it heightened the confusion.

Irish Party Held the Key

Then follow several significant paragraphs. In the first he says:—

> Throughout this whole crisis the situation of the Irish Party was most difficult. All parties threw on them the chief responsibility for the fate of the Bill. Even some suffragette members who were unable, through public pledges, to oppose Woman Suffrage, begged them to vote against the Bill, with a view of saving the Government and Home Rule, while on the other hand the woman's organisations sent them missives by hundreds begging and bullying them to support the measure.

He thus recognises the all-important position in which the Irish Party were placed.

How a Pledge can be Broken

He next deals with Mr. Redmond's pledge to allow a free vote, and shows how it was intended that it should be broken in the spirit. He says:—

> John Redmond was placed in a position of peculiar difficulty by a public pledge that every Irish member would be released by the Party and be left free to vote for or against the Bill. But Redmond, Dillon, and nearly every other member of the Party agreed in the opinion that the Women's Bill would be discrediting to the Cabinet and especially Asquith, and would imperil, if not wreck, Home Rule. Even the suffragists in the Irish Party, realising this danger, were ready to remain loyal to Home Rule, and only four or five felt bound to support the women. Redmond never wavered.

Thus all the Irish members pledged to women except five were evidently going to give a "free vote" by breaking their pledges.

Redmond Waiting to Kill Woman Suffrage

Finally "T. P." glories in the fact that Redmond had succeeded in seducing a section of Liberals from the straight path. He says:—

> It was also gratifying proof of the intense enthusiasm of the Liberals generally for Home Rule that many of them were ready to oppose Woman Suffrage because they agreed with Redmond it endangered the Irish cause. So the most dangerous crisis that has yet confronted Home Rule seems to be passing away, largely through the determination and sound judgment of the Redmond party.

When it is remembered that the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill was defeated largely on the strength of the expectation of securing Votes for Women on the Franchise Bill, the full iniquity of the proceeding will be appreciated. Who can doubt that identical tactics will be pursued by Mr. Redmond when the Bill comes up next session, and if so what chance is there of getting it carried so long as the Government refuse themselves to become responsible for it?

Liberal Women in Revolt

The Southport Women's Liberal Association has passed a strong resolution declaring that Mr. Asquith's promise of facilities for a private Member's Bill next session is not an adequate fulfilment of his pledge given in November, 1911, and calling upon the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation to summon a special Council to consider the situation. At Elswick the local W.L.A. also passed by a large majority a resolution calling for the summoning of a special Council meeting, but rejected by ten to eight a proposal that the Federation should confine itself to Suffrage work until votes were granted to women. We learn also that the North Lambeth W.L.A. have converted themselves into a Women's Progressive Association in consequence of Mr. Asquith's attitude on Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Strickland, the president, and several other prominent members of Bexhill W.L.A., have resigned from their Association. Several interesting letters on the subject will be found on page 302.

Militancy

Meanwhile the militant section of the Suffrage movement has been showing its determination in a way that cannot be mistaken. A further protest has been made in the gallery of the House of Commons by a man—Mr. Maycock. A large number of additional golf greens have been injured, letters have been damaged in the post, telegraph wires have been cut, windows have been broken, and the refreshment house in Regent's Park has been burnt to the ground. In the great majority of cases those who have been responsible for the damage have escaped without detection; but Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has been twice more arrested, her fine having already been paid twice by an unknown person, and finally she has been given two months' hard labour without the option of a fine; the son and daughter of Mr. George Lansbury have also been sentenced to two and to one month's hard labour respectively, and several other women to various terms, particulars of which are given on pp. 300-1. In many cases they have stated their intention of adopting the hunger strike in prison. Mr. Franklin has been remanded in custody, bail being refused. He is already hunger striking, and is, we understand, being forcibly fed.

A Bill for Prison Reform

We learn that there is a prospect of the Government introducing a Bill next session for prison reform. We recommend Suffragettes who know prison from the inside to scan the provisions of this Bill with very great attention, for our experience teaches us that so far as the Government is concerned the only prison reform that is likely to be granted is that which is wrung from them by the determination of the prisoners themselves. We shall also be on the look out for any attempt to deal with the hunger strike by imposing on Suffrage prisoners the degrading conditions of ticket-of-leave—a system which, even in its application to ordinary convicts, has been denounced by all responsible persons.

Items of Interest

The Forward Cymric Union have written to Mr. Lloyd George saying that they cannot accept his refusal to see them in deputation, and that unless he appoints a day they propose to wait on him on March 6.

The London Graduates' Union have passed a resolution demanding a Government measure for Woman Suffrage.

As we go to press we learn the grave news that the country house which was being built for Mr. Lloyd George at Walton-on-the-Hill was blown up during the night of Tuesday, February 18, by a bomb, and that from the fact that a hatpin and a hairpin were left behind the police suppose it to be the work of Suffragettes. It is a relief to know that the house was quite unoccupied at the time, the explosion taking place at night—a fact which would be in keeping with the declared intention of the militants to damage property but to spare human life. If we assume that the destruction was in fact the work of Suffragists, it is a proof of the very serious condition into which the Suffrage question has been brought by the obstinacy and trickery of politicians and the wicked and wanton incitement of men like Mr. Hobhouse, who have told women that peaceful demonstrations do not prove anything, and that only such events as the burning of Nottingham Castle to the ground in 1831 have influence upon them. We hope that this event will compel the men and women of the country to put aside once and for all the flippancy and double-dealing with which they have hitherto treated this question, to face it seriously, and to resolve to sweep away the great injustice which is so keenly resented by women.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

The Votes for Women Fellowship has taken root, and is putting forth sturdy growth week by week. Not only are there groups in the city of London and in all the suburbs, but also in the following places:—

Andover
Appleford-on-Thames
Ardwick
Barnsley
Barnstaple
Barry
Bath
Belfast
Birkdale
Birkenhead
Birmingham
Blackpool
Blanefield
Bournemouth
Bradbury
Brighton
Brockenhurst
Bungay
Canterbury
Cardigan
Castleford (Yorks)
Cheltenham
Cliftonville
Colinton
Congresbury
Crossgate
Crowborough
Darlington
Davenport
Dawlish
Derby
Dess
Devon
Doncaster
Dorking
Dover
Down
Dronfield (Derby)
Dublin
Dunblane
Eastbourne
Edenbridge
Edgbaston
Edinburgh
Fishguard
Folkestone
Glamorgan
Glasgow
Gloucester
Halifax
Hartfield
Hastings
Henfield
Holmwood
Hove
Hull
Ilkley
Kenley
Kent
Kirkcudbright
Leeds
Leicester
Letchworth
Lindfield
Liverpool
East Lothian
Loughborough
Loughton
Lowestoft
Maidenhead
Manchester
Margate
Merstham
Montgomery
Normanton
Northumberland
Ovenden
Oxford
Parkstone
Penzance
Portobello
Prestonpans
Radlett
Reigate
Rickmansworth
Rochester
Rotherfield
Ryde
Seacombe
Sheffield
Somerset
Southampton
Southend
Stanwell
Stirling
Stockport
Stourbridge
Sutherland
Swanley
Tilehurst
Torquay
Tunbridge Wells
Uxbridge
Walsall
Warwick
Wellingborough
Westgate-on-Sea
Wolverhampton
Woodlesford

We have members also in America, Germany, India, Italy, Prussia, Roumania, and Sweden.

In every one of these centres members are actively at work, and every post brings its record of some task accomplished and some purpose achieved.

Sometimes it is a working woman who writes: "I have managed to increase the sale of my papers last week one dozen and this week six. I never lose a chance of pushing forward in any direction." Sometimes it is a school teacher who says: "I used a ten minutes between two lessons in asking for orders for this week's paper. I sold eight copies in the ten minutes, and was asked to supply the common room with Votes for Women each week."

Sometimes it is a leisured woman who follows out a systematic canvass week by week, enrolling consecutively twelve, twenty-four, thirteen, and fifteen members to the Fellowship. Sometimes it is an invalid, who writes: "I have succeeded in collecting enough money amongst the friends in the neighbourhood for the display of a Votes for Women Poster at the station for six months in a first-rate position. I have also managed to get two more newsagents to display the poster. There are now seven newsagents showing the poster in this neighbourhood." Sometimes a seller writes to say she has made a record of "thirteen dozen in one week." Sometimes one who thinks her town "too Conservative to tolerate a street sale," disposes of "five dozen copies in other ways."

Whether such services be individually great or individually small, the amount in the aggregate is a big active force which is working like leaven in the community.

Many new centres will be started in the course of the next few weeks, and there is much work to be done. This week I should especially like to recommend that every member, and indeed every reader of this paper, should see to it that certain people who possess positions of influence in her or his locality should obtain the paper regularly. For instance, the clergyman of the parish church and the Nonconformist minister of every congregation which counts a reader of Votes for Women in its membership and all the active social workers, especially the secretaries of debating societies and mutual education schemes, should be regularly supplied with our paper. These people control centres of public education, and no one can tell how far-reaching would be the result of putting the facts and the logic plainly before them, and keeping them aware week by week of the political situation of the Woman's Movement.

The Town Clerk of the local municipality should receive the paper week by week with a personal note asking his attention to the matter, and it would be a very good thing for each of the Councillors to receive a copy. The headmaster and the headmistress of every elementary school should have Votes for Women placed in their hands, also the secretaries of political or quasi-political associations; and the editor of every local paper—no matter how "local"—should receive a copy of Votes for Women at his private address, with the most important political article or some other article of immediate interest carefully marked to secure his attention.

We should be glad to hear from our readers who are adopting in practice any or all of these suggestions. We cordially invite women and men who are willing to co-operate with us in making Votes for Women the backbone of a solid body of sound political public opinion with regard to the present agitation for women's enfranchisement, to place their name on the roll of Fellowship members. There are no conditions except willingness to help, no fixed contribution either in service or money, for we bring our gifts into the common stock as leisure, opportunity, and means allow.

We are proud of our Fellowship, of the vigour of its life and the effectiveness of its work. We are proud of our paper and glad to devote our services to increase its influence and success. We have undertaken a task worthy of our best energies, and we mean to put it through with the same whole-hearted and determined spirit that has brought our movement to the great position which it occupies to-day.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Feb. 18, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	161	6	10
Miss Ruth Hancock.	0	12	6
Miss E. L. Lambert.	0	2	6
Mrs. Salmon	0	5	0
Miss I. Isaac	0	1	0
Miss Helen Turnbull	0	3	0
Miss Stella B. Fife...	0	5	0
Miss L. Kidd	0	1	0
Miss M. G. Murray ..	0	2	6
Miss L. C. Lowe ...	0	10	0
Total..................	163	9	4

POLITICAL MILITANCY

In Reply to the Women's Freedom League

My article on militancy for non-militants has called forth some interesting correspondence, and notably a statement from the Women's Freedom League (see page 301), which claims that it offers a rallying point for those who are militant in spirit and feel the need for protest expressed in strong action, but are not prepared to adopt methods of violence and destruction.

A question is raised in that paragraph of the statement, which deals with the suggestion of the determined questioning of Cabinet Ministers at public meetings. The objection made to this policy is in effect that it cannot be regarded as "militancy without violence" because when practised it has raised "frenzies of incensate fury" on the part of Liberal stewards and others, who have not hesitated to use the utmost brutality in their attempt to terrorise those who have adopted it.

Surely this argument is based upon a total misconception of the idea of "militancy without violence." The question even for non-militants is not "Can we escape the consequences of violence shown to us?" That is easy enough. Submission is all that is necessary in order to evade violence. Surely the only question before us is, "Can I possibly fight this great battle of liberty without *using* violence?"

The opponents of physical force must always remember that it was not militant Suffragists who chose that this battle for emancipation should be fought out on the plane of physical force. It was the Government and their political adherents who deliberately forced it on to this plane, thinking that it was the plane where men have women at disadvantage. "Women are physically weaker than men," they argued, "therefore when women come to us with their demand for political liberty let us knock them about. That will soon put a stop to the trouble."

In adopting this policy of physical force men resorted to methods of violence quite different from those that they use in similar circumstances against opponents of their own sex. It is a matter of common political experience that hecklers are allowed a very large measure of liberty at political meetings. Women were assaulted the very first time they asked questions in question time and insisted upon waiting for a reply. This difference in treatment was prompted by the very fact that in the minds of these political tacticians it is more politic to knock women about than to knock men about, owing to the probability that men would take up the challenge of physical force, but women would have to refuse it. The same consideration induced the Government at a subsequent time to send out an army of police to assault women who went forth in a peaceful deputation to the House of Commons. Had the policy of repression by violence succeeded, politicians would have been able to keep women's just demand in abeyance for ever by falling back, when hard pressed by argument, upon the weapon of physical force. By accepting the challenge women have discredited the weapons of sheer physical force devoid of moral force, and proved that when they are directed against a just cause they are impotent.

The policy of protest at political meetings is a well-recognised form of political pressure. It was adopted by the W.S.P.U. as one of the early methods of their campaign of "militancy without violence"; it has been carried out ever since and is being carried out still with great courage by individuals connected with the W.S.P.U. and the M.P.U., who have accepted the challenge of physical force and who fulfil their political duty in spite of the violence from which they consequently suffer. The question is whether the time has not come when these individuals who have again and again faced the storm cannot be reinforced by militant non-militants—that is to say, by those who believe in fighting this great battle by all morally defensible weapons except those of physical force. There is no doubt that if this policy could be carried out on an organised scale on the part of all the Suffrage Societies (both Women's and Men's Societies), strengthened by the Liberal women, a greater force of political pressure would be brought to bear upon the Government by this method than by any other that could be devised. It would be a clean issue between moral courage and physical courage on the one side and moral cowardice and physical force on the other. There is no doubt that courage would win.

My object in writing "Militancy for Non-militants" was to offer a way of escape for those women and men who, unlike myself, are conscientiously and temperamentally opposed to any exercise of physical force in the furtherance of a just cause, but are also honestly ashamed of the semblance of acquiescence in wrong which is given when no protest against those who have intrigued and betrayed, finds expression in action. It is possible for women and for men to realise their true womanhood and manhood by offering such resistance to tyranny as to force the tyrant to do justice or to do violence.

Representative Governments who do violence place themselves in political peril, and they know it. The moment is always at hand when those who cling to power will choose to do justice and keep office rather than to do violence and lose the good opinion of the electorate. And that is why militancy without violence, if it is of a political nature, exercises powerful pressure upon the Government, while it proves the mettle of those who regard themselves as fighters in the cause of liberty.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

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PEOPLE WHO MATTER—AND SOME WHO DON'T

By Mary Neal

II.—A Liberal M.P.

He began life as a young gentleman in a business house, and he was very, very earnest. The firm was by way of being philanthropic towards its employees, and for the cultivation of their minds ran a Literary and Debating Society in the Common Room set aside for the recreation of their young assistants. Early in his career he became a leading light in this Society, and the earnestness with which he advocated Socialism, Woman's Suffrage, Peace and Temperance, and the chivalrous abandonment with which he supported all lost causes soon made his associates and his employers realise that he was cut out for a Wider Sphere, and eventually he entered a Nonconformist Theological Training College.

It is true that his education was not very wide nor very deep, but if he lost an "h" in one sentence he more than recovered it in the next, and if his French was rather sketchy, well, as he explained, a little trip across the Channel would soon put that right; and of course, earnestness was what really mattered. When he left the Training College he was able to prefix his name with "Reverend," and with his chivalrous ideas was soon snapped up for special mission work, into which he threw his burning zeal and his fervid oratory.

But he soon became a little unorthodox in his doctrines, and very moved by the conditions of the poor and very convinced that something must be done. The women especially seemed in hard case, and sweated labour, large families, the perils of the young in big cities became the watchwords of many a lurid sermon. And then it was that his earnestness and his eloquence and his extraordinary faculty for being shaken by every wind of every new social doctrine which happened to be blowing at the time brought him to the notice of People in Very High Places. One day he would dine and sleep at a Bishop's Palace, and another he would lunch with a University Professor, or he might have tea with a great actress, or a statesman might invite him to supper and talk.

Then he forgot all about the reasons which had brought him out of the ruck of young gentlemen in business; he forgot all the aspirations of the Debating Society; the conditions of the poor and the sorrows and burdens of women became mere catchwords to secure applause for a display of oratory. The word "Reverend" was dropped from before his name and "M.P." added after.

To-day he is patronised by people in the Very Highest Circles, and is sought after for addresses on Social Reform, Woman's Suffrage, the White Slave Traffic, and all those subjects in which a Member of Parliament may lawfully assure people that the best interests of the country are safeguarded by the earnest Liberal.

And he has never found out that he is merely a tool for the deeper enslavement of the people, a laughing-stock for the sprites who mock at man's self-deception, and a very significant indication of the vanity of looking to the average Liberal for straight dealing in any matter that really counts.

And he voted against the Conciliation Bill on the very highest grounds.

THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW "OPPORTUNITY"

The Liberal Suffragists' Bill

At a meeting of the group of Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s, which was held in the House of Commons last Thursday, under the presidency of Mr. Dickinson, the report of the Sub-Committee was read by Mr. J. H. Whitehouse, and the proposed draft of the new Suffrage Bill submitted to the meeting. The report was as follows:—

"Your Committee have held five meetings. They at once put themselves in communication with the other suffrage groups in the House, and have endeavoured to ascertain their views. Both the Conservative suffragists and the Labour suffragists showed themselves no less anxious to co-operate than ourselves. But while everyone agrees that a single Bill supported by all parties is the most desirable course, the degree of unity necessary for the drafting of a joint bill is difficult of attainment. In these circumstances your Committee thought it right to consider what form of bill would be most likely to commend itself to Liberal suffragists, and at the same time to consider how it might best be drafted in order to afford to other groups of suffragists a fair opportunity for amendment in Committee to the form which they might themselves prefer.

"The Committee unanimously recommend that the Bill to be put forward should provide for conferring the Parliamentary franchise on—

"(1) Women, whether married or unmarried, who if they were men would be entitled to be registered and to vote in respect of a household qualification, i.e., as inhabitant occupiers of dwelling-houses; and

"(2) The wives of such inhabitant occupiers residing on the same premises as their husbands.

"They think that the bill should restrict this franchise to women over twenty-five.

"Your Committee have had the opportunity of consulting certain Cabinet Ministers who are in favour of women's suffrage on these proposals, and are authorised to state that a bill on these lines would have their active support.

"The Committee recommend that the chairman of the group (Sir John Simon) be instructed to get the drafting finally settled forthwith on behalf of the group (with power to consult the Committee if the group thinks fit to reappoint them), so that the Bill may be ready for the beginning of next session."

The report was unanimously approved, and on the motion of Mr. Trevelyan it was resolved that Sir John Simon "be instructed to get the drafting of the Bill finally settled forthwith on behalf of the group, with power to consult the Committee, which is hereby reappointed, with power to add to its number, for that purpose and for assisting in the passage of the Bill."

VIEWS OF LOBBY CORRESPONDENTS

The Political Correspondent of the *Times* conjectures that the above Bill will probably be suplemented by an Adult Woman Suffrage measure, and perhaps a Conciliation Bill. "In such case," he adds, "the ballot would have to decide which Bill should be proceeded with."

"The idea of a Suffrage Cabinet," says the Political Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, "drawn from all parties and responsible for a single measure, must be dismissed as impracticable."

"A Wayfarer" writes in the *Nation* (February 15):

"A Woman Suffrage Bill will be drafted and ready at the very beginning of next session. The Liberal Suffragist Committee, representing by far the largest body of suffragists in the House, have consulted representatives of other groups and decided on the lines of the new measure. As their Bill will have the largest backing, it will be selected by the Government as the Bill for which facilities will be given. It seems clear that a measure drafted on the lines of the Dickinson No. 2 Bill will have the best chance of getting a substantial majority on second reading. If by a simple amendment it can be restricted to the proportions of the Conciliation Bill, those who are in favour of the limited franchise will get their chance of testing the feeling of the House in Committee. If the Bill were drafted on restricted lines it is doubtful whether (1) a sufficient number of Liberals would vote in its favour to secure it a second reading; (2) an amendment considerably extending its scope would be in order in view of the Speaker's recent ruling.

"The circumstances are different from what they were on the amendments to the Franchise Bill, and opinion cannot be reckoned on in quite the same way. Tory suffragists are less inclined to enfranchise a large number of women now that the male franchise is not to be extended. Liberal opinion has still further hardened against a Bill on conciliation lines. The Tories will not assist to pass the Bill in subsequent sessions under the provisions of the Parliament Act. This is, perhaps, the worst feature in prospect. But numbers have wisely decided to concentrate on the passage of a Bill through the Commons next session without forcing debate on to future stages. One gain to the suffragists is clear. The vote on this Bill will be far more free and unfettered than any vote could have been on amendments to the Franchise Bill."

A correspondent claiming to be in touch with the various Suffrage groups in the House, writes to the *Standard* saying that the adult suffragists in the House are willing to agree to the proposal of the Liberal group as outlined by Sir John Simon's committee. The writer goes on to say that Unionist suffragist M.P.'s as a body are perhaps not all agreed on this point, but it is known that many of them would have voted for the Dickinson amendment had it gone to a division. The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association has passed a resolution at many of its meetings lately recording its opinion that "woman householders and the wives of householders should be enfranchised without delay," which is in effect the form of the new Bill without the age limitation. The writer concludes by saying: "There is good hope that the suffragist groups may find common ground on these lines, though whether the private member's Bill has any real chance of passing is another matter."

DEMAND FOR A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

The London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, at a General Meeting of members, has passed the following resolution, copies of which have been forwarded to all members of the Cabinet:—

"The London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, realising that the promise of facilities for a Private Member's Bill is no adequate fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge, adopts the policy of demanding a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women."

MR. SNOWDEN, M.P., AND A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

Speaking at the weekly meeting of the London Society for Woman Suffrage, last Thursday, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., drew a fine distinction between the best policy to be pursued by Woman Suffragists outside the House of Commons, and that to be adopted by members of Parliament. The Prime Minister, he said, had still to redeem his pledge. Instead of carrying out his promise he had withdrawn the Bill, and instead of introducing another measure immediately or declaring his intention of doing so next session had offered another Conciliation Bill—a private member's Bill. He could not advise the Suffrage Societies to accept the offer of a Conciliation Bill. For those inside the House of Commons the position was different. But they outside the House ought to demand a Government measure. The reason he said that was because they could not now depend on the Unionist suffragists to support a Bill to enfranchise householders and wives of householders. He did not think there was now a ghost of a chance for a Women's Suffrage Bill passing unless it was a Government measure.

Dealing with the objection that Mr. Asquith as an anti-Suffragist could not be responsible for a Suffrage measure, Mr. Snowden said he was not so sure of that. He had seen something of the pliability and adaptibility of politicians. It was a great deal more likely that Mr. Asquith would agree to introduce a Suffrage Bill as a Government measure than it seemed in 1884 that Mr. Gladstone would ever introduce a Home Rule Bill. It was not a far call from what the Government had already promised over the late Franchise Bill for them to promise to introduce a Bill giving the suffrage to women and support the measure at the second reading on condition that the suffrage question should be an open one at the Committee stage.

LIBERAL WOMEN

Resolutions Passed

The Council of the Southport Division Women's Liberal Association have passed the following resolution: "This Association is of opinion that the offer now made by the Government to give facilities for a private member's Bill for women's suffrage in the coming session does not contain any adequate fulfilment of the pledge given by the Prime Minister in November, 1911. It therefore calls on the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation to summon a special council meeting to consider the very difficult position in which Liberal women are now placed."

At Elswick

At the annual business meeting of the Elswick Women's Liberal Association, held on February 12, Dr. Ethel Williams announced that before she again accepted the office of President she wished to submit two resolutions—(1) asking that a special conference of the Women's Liberal Association be called to consider the suffrage question in the light of the recent ruling of the Speaker on the Reform Bill; and (2) expressing the feeling that until this most urgent Liberal reform was carried the Federation should devote itself wholly to the work of bringing that reform about.

A lively discussion followed on the first resolution, at the end of which it was carried with only three dissentients. The second resolution was lost by ten votes to eight, Dr. Williams remarking that this meant the Elswick Association was not going to take a definite stand on the Woman Suffrage question; but she was glad there were eight people in the room who realised that "*the power is in the hands of the Women's Liberal Federation if they choose to use it.*" She then intimated that she was prepared to accept the presidency of the Association until the Special Council of the Federation had been held.

A Reactionary Resolution

The committee of the Bedford Women's Liberal Association passed the following resolution at a meeting held by them on February 11:—

"The committee of the Bedford W.L.A. regret very much that owing to the Speaker's ruling the Women's Suffrage Amendment was not able to be incorporated into the Reform Bill. They are hopeful that a better Bill may be obtained in due course of time; meanwhile they *beseech* the militants to refrain from their destructive tactics, which they are convinced are alienating many M.P.'s and others, and injuring instead of forwarding the Enfranchisement of women."

THE REFERENDUM AGAIN

Under the heading, "The Frivolity of Certain Politicians," the *Manchester Guardian* discusses the Referendum in a leading article, from which we take the following passages:—

"Why is it that so many politicians who advocate the use of the Referendum, or special poll of the whole electorate, for no other purpose express a platonic affection for it in relation to women's suffrage? We say platonic, or sentimental, because they never, so far as our observation extends, attempt to give substance and reality to their proposal, to explain how it is to be worked, or why it should be applied to one question alone and not to many other important questions, or in what way it will be possible to limit in this perfectly abitrary fashion the application of this powerful and novel instrument of government, once adopted. . . . Is it a kind of political cowardice, or is it that they think they are quite magnanimous in conceding so much as this to the cause of the enfranchisement of capable citizens who happen not to be of their own sex? It is a curious problem, and we shall not attempt to solve it. Perhaps someone in the secret will throw a little light on it."

WELSH MILITANTS AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE

In our issue of February 7 we gave some account of the correspondence which has been passing between the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union and the Chancellor of the Exchequer since last December, when Mrs. Mansell-Moullin wrote to ask Mr. Lloyd George to receive a deputation from the Union. The following letter has now been sent to him, dated February 17, in which, after again reminding him of his secretary's letter of December 17, in which a hope was expressed that Mr. Lloyd George would receive a deputation later on, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin writes:—

"I am now writing to ask you if you can arrange to meet us either the last day of this session or the commencement of the next. We hope to receive an answer before March 6. Failing this, some of our members will call at your residence on your return from your holiday to await your reply."

PRESS COMMENTS

It has been said that the Liberal suffrage members and the Unionist suffrage members may mix together sooner or later. They may, but with one very acute difference. No Unionists will ever admit the possibility of action under the Parliament Act, and as the Liberals consider that it is only with the assistance of the Parliament Act that any legislation on the subject can ever be attained, one is at a loss to discover any common working ground between the two sections.—**Glasgow Herald**

The attempt to reach an agreement between the various sections favouring the female franchise in the House has, up to the present, failed, and there does not seem to be any prospect of the Joint Committee, which was suggested by Mr. F. E. Smith, being formed to frame an agreed Bill. . . . I may say, however, without prejudice, that the prevailing opinion is that no Suffrage Bill will succeed in getting into committee in the present Parliament.—**Leicester Daily Post.**

Should agreement be arrived at between the groups in this way, there is an even chance that the Bill may go through. . . The Bill will be introduced in a few weeks, and there is a possibility it may be law before next General Election.—**Leeds Mercury.**

This tantalizing eleventh-hour postponement is only one of the law's delays that are fraying the tempers of the militants and keeping the British public fearful of more disturbance of the peace and destruction of property.—**Collier's Weekly.**

We Quite Agree!

It is really astonishing how slow British statesmen can be in taking action of vital importance to the welfare of the country.—**Morning Post.**

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

February 13

Mr. Horner asked the Chief Secretary the names of the persons released since the 1st January, 1910, from prison in Ireland by order of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant before the completion of their sentences; the offence for which each was convicted; the length of the period to which each was sentenced; the tribunal, whether magistrates, County Court, Assize Court, or other Court, which imposed the sentence in each case; and the length of time each prisoner had served when released?

Mr. Birrell: I am not prepared to grant the Return which in the absence of full explanations of each case would be both unfair to the persons concerned and misleading.

February 14

In the House of Commons on February 14 Mr. Morrell asked the Home Secretary if he can give any information as to the health of Marie Neill, who for the past two weeks has been undergoing imprisonment in Holloway Gaol; whether she has refused to take food and is now being forcibly fed; whether she has been allowed exercise; and whether her treatment has been different from that of other prisoners convicted at the same time and for the same offence?

Mr. McKenna: Marie Neill has refused to take her food in the ordinary way since February 3, but she takes it from a feeding cup. The medical officer reports that there are no ill-effects. Prisoners who refuse their food forfeit their privileges while their refusal continues, and in this respect Marie Neill's treatment differs from that of prisoners who are taking their food. She has been having, and will continue to have, the daily exercise which the medical officer considers necessary for her health.

Mr. Atherley-Jones asked the Home Secretary whether Miss Margaret James, recently convicted of an offence connected with the suffrage agitation, was, on the 3rd inst., two days prior to her conviction, compelled by the application of force to submit to have her finger prints taken; and, if so, will he state under what authority, statutory or other, this treatment of an unconvicted person was followed?

Mr. McKenna: Application was made by the Commissioner of Police for the City of London to the Governor of Holloway that the finger prints of the prisoner referred to might be taken under the regulations made under the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871, and the Penal Servitude Act, 1891. As the prisoner objected, the finger prints were not taken.

THE DRAMA OF THE NORTH

Ibsen's "Pretenders" at the Haymarket

There is not much of the later Ibsen in the historic drama now being performed at the Haymarket. The women's parts are, in the main, negligible, and in no single instance is the modern note of revolt struck that might be expected from the author of "Hedda Gabler" and "The Doll's House." The Queen Inga is banished from her son's side because he is too fond of her, and affection might weaken his determination to weld Norway into a united kingdom. Ingeborg, the woman who loves and is loved by Earl Skule, is cast on one side because she stands in the way of his ambitions. Margrete is married by Hakon, the King, for purely political reasons, and is allowed to stay with him because he has no inconvenient love for her. And this conception of woman as a convenience re-acts necessarily upon the character of the women—is there here a subtle indication of the Ibsen of later days?—for Ingeborg's son is a fool who brings about the ruin of his father, and Margrete, instead of being glad that her husband looks upon her as his equal and comes to her for counsel, would barter all this for blind affection, and is ready to dissolve into tears whenever there is a crisis.

But it is not fair to judge "The Pretenders" by the women in it. They are, as we have said, negligible; and the strength of the play lies in the fine characterisation of the men who are the principal actors in it, above all, of Earl Skule and of the Bishop of Oslo. It is always easier to win sympathy on the stage for the unsuccessful than for the successful hero; and to that extent Mr. Laurence Irving has a less difficult task in impersonating Earl Skule than has Mr. Basil Gill, who plays Hakon, the King. But the part of Skule, less obviously a character part than that of the Bishop, is the finest piece of workmanship in the play, and Mr. Irving has grasped its subtle possibilities as perhaps no other living actor would quite have done. But for him the play would go to pieces after the death of the Bishop; the actor, however, maintains our interest in the sheer human study that he makes of the man Skule, and because of that we overlook the lack of construction and the verbosity of the later scenes. He makes of him the man known to all reformers, who injures all causes by a fatal indecision. "Ay, there is the rub, Earl Skule," says Bishop Nicholas, "that is—

> the curse which has lain upon your life. You would fain know every way open at need—you dare not break all your bridges and keep only one, defend it alone, and conquer or fall upon it. You lay snares for your foe, you set traps for his feet, and hang sharp swords over his head; you strew poison in every dish, and you spread a hundred nets for him; but when he walks into your toils you dare not draw the string; if he stretches out his hand for the poison, you think it safer that he should fall by the sword; if he is like to be caught in the morning, you think it wiser to wait till eventide.

All the humour of the play, and it is magnificent ironic humour, is centred in Bishop Nicholas, who is played with admirable force and restraint by Mr. William Haviland. Of the women's parts, the Ingeborg of Miss Madge McIntosh is by far the best performance.

Björnson's "Gauntlet" at the Court

The Play Actors did a real service to the woman's cause by producing "A Gauntlet" at the Court Theatre last Sunday and Monday. It is difficult to believe that Björnson wrote this play some thirty years ago, for although the vital truths proclaimed in it belong to every age and to no age in particular, the courage of women in proclaiming them belongs, in this country at least, to a period extending back little further than the last six or seven years. For the main issue of the play depends upon the right of the woman to exact from a man the same "clean" past that a man exacts from a woman before he asks her to marry him, and the first note of coming controversy is struck in the opening scene where the girl Svava says of her lover that he looks so clean. Her father asks what meaning she attaches to the word:—

> SVAVA: Well, the meaning that I hope anyone would attach to it if they used the word of me.
>
> RIIS: Do you attach the same meaning to it if it is used of a man, as you would if it were used of a girl?
>
> SVAVA: Yes, of course.

When the crash comes and she breaks off her engagement because she finds that her definition of the word cannot be applied to Alfred Christensen, the eternal fight begins between the old and the new, between truth and convention, purity and hypocrisy, and it is the young girl who fights it alone for the most part, for even her mother begins by ranging herself on the side of the enemy, one of whose "principles of right behaviour—and perhaps the most important—is that all scandal must be avoided." From her father she expects nothing better than this sort of argument, and tells him to his face, when he assures her what an ennobling effect marriage has upon men:—

> One would really think that marriage were a sort of superior wash-house for men . . . and that men could come there and take a dip when they please—and in what state they please! . . . I mean it! And it is flattering—very flattering—for me, as your daughter, to feel that you look upon me as so peculiarly suited for the washerwoman's post!

The crisis of the play is reached when Alfred himself comes to plead his cause, and Mrs. Riis, whom a chance allusion to men's honour has entirely won over to Svava's side, asks him if he would believe a woman's word, supposing that, having had a past like his, she promised to make him a good wife. He is astounded:—

> . . such a thing could never happen. No man of honour would choose a woman of whose past he was not certain. Never!
>
> MRS. RIIS: But what about a woman of honour, Alfred?
>
> ALFRED: Ah, that is quite different.
>
> NORDAN: To put it precisely: a woman owes a man both her past and her future; a man owes a woman only his future.
>
> ALFRED: Well, if you like to put it that way—yes.

It is then that Svava gives him her answer by striking him across the face with her gloves. But it must not be thought that Björnson puts the case only for the woman and so weakens his case. In an admirable scene between old Christensen, Dr. Nordan, and Mrs. Riis, the man's point of view is put at its very best, and in combating it Mrs. Riis has to place herself on the defensive. Christensen draws a brutally true picture of the matchmaking mother, and she shows how such a woman is the product of the generally accepted standard of morality as between the two sexes. "It only shows," she cries, "what a woman can sink to, from living with a man!"

The play ends on a note of hope; for the militancy of Svava, waged against great odds, succeeds in opening Alfred's eyes, and he goes away to prove himself worth waiting for—if she will only wait until he has won back her respect.

Miss Winifred Mayo managed to convey the dignity and restraint of the character of Mrs. Riis, while suggesting the tragedy underlying her life with Riis. Miss Ernita Lascelles played the part of Svava a little crudely, giving somewhat the impression of a very young girl filled with rather impossible ideas, whereas the Svava of Björnson's play is a young woman who has been in love before, and has managed kindergartens successfully for years, and whose judgment is therefore sane and matured. Mr. A. M. Heathcote as Riis was very successful, and the other parts were well filled, the very small one of Hoff, played by Mr. Jackson Wilcox, being noticeably good.

A SUFFRAGE NOVEL

It is significant of the progress made by the Woman's Movement that a publisher should think it worth his while to bring out a novel series dealing with the enfranchisement of women. Time was when publishers turned a cold eye on fiction in which this question played a prominent or even a serious part; time was when commercial success was incompatible with Suffrage propaganda. Yet here we have Mr. Stanley Paul issuing a series of novels adorned by the title of "The Votes for Women Series."

The first of these is "The Poodle Woman," by Annesley Kenealy (Stanley Paul and Co., 6s.), the story of an impulsive Irish girl who becomes the wife of a man so unattractive before as well as after marriage that we wonder how she managed to fall in love with him. There is nothing in the book to excite the antagonism of the ordinary reader; there is much of society in it and none of the storm and stress of the Suffrage movement; and it contains no Suffragettes, though a stalwart Suffragist, Lady Susan Montagu, plays a considerable part. Attention is directed to the disabilities of woman owing to the lack of the vote, not to their efforts to obtain it; and these disabilities are brought forward in a way that even the most apathetic can hardly disregard. The "Poodle-Woman" belongs to a type of woman who supports the worst traditions of womanhood, and is not a pleasant study, but the Irish nurse, with her Irishisms, takes away some of the bad taste left by Mrs. Hawke-Hawkins. The weakness of the story seems to us to lie in the improbability of any judge in a case like Biddy's refusing to give the mother the custody of the child. He might in law so refuse, but in fact would not be likely to do so. Brightly and easily written, the book should appeal to that portion of the public which has not yet considered the question of the enfranchisement of women. G.

AS GERMANY SEES US

In order that German women may properly understand and sympathise with their English sisters in their fight for freedom, Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher has written a full account* of the militant movement from the commencement up to the present time. As works of reference Fräulein Schirmacher has evidently made great use of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's book, "The Suffragette," and of the newspaper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and the numerous and excellently reproduced cartoons from VOTES FOR WOMEN are exceedingly interesting. Very good portraits of Suffrage Leaders are also included. Thanks are due to the author for this as well as her other works, tending, as they all do, to bring about a stronger feeling of comradeship and solidarity among all women fighting for their emancipation.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Church Bells of England." By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Oxford University Press. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

"Hearts Adrift." By George Raffalovich. (London: Francis Griffiths. Price 6s.)

"A Turkish Woman's European Impressions." By Zeyneb Hamoum. (London: Seeley Service and Co. 6s. net.)

"Western Men With Eastern Morals." By W. N. Willis (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 5s. net.)

"Helen Redeemed and Other Poems." By Maurice Hewlett. (London: Macmillan. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"University Education for Women." By Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, Litt.D. (Manchester: University Press. Price 6d. net.)

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* "Die Suffragettes." By Kaethe Schirmacher. Published by Alexander Duncker, Weimar. Price 2.50 marks.

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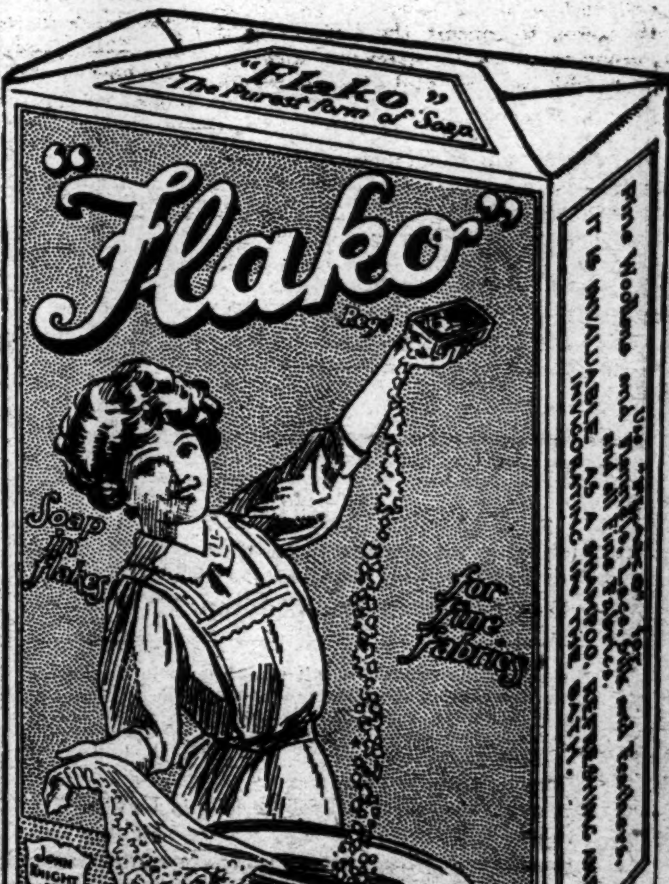
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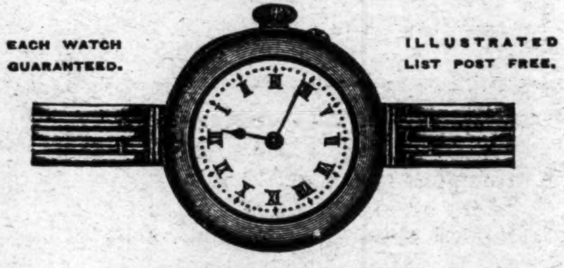

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1913.

THE BETRAYAL OF IRELAND

We publish in the "Outlook" this week important extracts from a message sent by Mr. T. P. O'Connor to the *Chicago Tribune* at the time of the discussion of the Government's Franchise Bill. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, as is well known, is a Nationalist M.P. who is high up in the counsels of the leaders of the Irish Party, and possesses an inside knowledge of the working of their plans. In this message he makes no secret of the plot formed by Mr. Redmond and his immediate following to wreck Woman Suffrage in the alleged interests of Home Rule; he describes in detail how Mr. Redmond had succeeded in persuading all but four or five of his followers to break their pledges to women on the "Grey" amendment, and how over and above this he had seduced a number of Liberal M.P.'s to take a similar course. It is quite clear that if the Bill had not come to an untimely end owing to the ruling of the Speaker, Mr. Redmond's manœuvres alone would have been sufficient to destroy any chance of the passage of the Woman Suffrage amendments into law.

But this is not all; the frank statements of Mr. T. P. O'Connor are of much wider application than the particular crisis which was reached last January. We are provided by them with a means of demonstrating the proof of the fact, of which we have all along been aware, that it was Redmond who played a large part in destroying the Conciliation Bills of 1910, 1911, and 1912. That it was he also who secured the defeat of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Home Rule Bill was openly admitted at the time. And we are left with the inevitable conclusion that Mr. Redmond will endeavour and will succeed in dealing similarly with any and every attempt to enfranchise women which is not incorporated in a Government measure for which the Government itself is responsible and on which its own life depends.

It is of no use for Mr. Redmond to allege that he is acting in the best interests of the freedom of Ireland. Irish women form one half the Irish people, and the exclusion of Irish women from any power over their own affairs either in the Imperial Parliament or in the Irish Parliament (assuming such comes into existence) is a deadly blow struck at the liberty of the people of Ireland. It is a betrayal of Ireland which accords ill with the high-sounding phrases about the freedom of his country for which Mr. Redmond is cheered to the echo by the Nationalist section of his compatriots.

Turning from Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist Party to the Orange section, we find Sir Edward Carson equally hostile to the enfranchisement of Women. The only difference consists in the fact that whereas Sir Edward Carson and his party form part of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and being in a minority have no power to prevent the will of the majority from being enforced, Mr. Redmond and his party form part of the Coalition by which the Government are kept in power. Therefore though both are equally culpable from the point of view of women, the hostility of Mr. Redmond is far the more serious fact at the present time.

We have no hesitation in saying that the remedy for this disgraceful state of affairs lies with the Irishwomen themselves. While English and Scottish and Welsh women have been coming forward and demanding their enfranchisement, the great majority of the women in Ireland have placed the claims of their party first and their own citizen rights second. The Nationalist women have said: "Let us win Home Rule for Irishmen first, and then, when we have secured this, our men out of gratitude will give us our rights." The Unionist women have said: "Let us help our men to defeat Home Rule, and then they will think us worthy of enfranchisement."

The Irish women who have taken this course from motives however unselfish have unfortunately to learn the great lesson of politics that politicians act not from gratitude, but from pressure. Thus while the members of the Liberal and Conservative Parties recognise the necessity of facing this question of Votes for Women because it has been made impossible for them to do otherwise, the Irish members still think they can treat it with contempt, and a man like Mr. Hugh Law, a professing Suffragist, is able to get up in the House of Commons and say as he did last November, when the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill was under discussion, that when Irish women really wanted the vote he believed that they would get it. What he really meant was that Irish women would not get votes until they made it too hot for their M.P.'s any longer to withhold them.

It is of no use for women to think that they must help their parties in this hour of crisis, and then when that is over they can work for their enfranchisement. It is now while the crisis is on that they can make their parties listen to them, for it is now that their help is so needed. If they wait till the crisis is over, they will find, as the women did in South Africa (when the Act of Union was passed with their help), that they have waited until it is too late.

And let not women think that they are right to subordinate what some feel to be selfish interests to the wider interests of the community. The inclusion of women among the electorate is not a selfish matter; it is one in which the vital interests of the community are bound up. Women who are Home Rulers should particularly direct their attention to the case of Turkey which is dealt with by Mr. Shallard in his article on the opposite page. They will see there how the Young Turkish Party have come to wreck through their failure to recognise this simple fact. Women who are opposed to Home Rule should realise how they are weakening the foundations of all government by excluding women from participation.

We say, therefore, to Irish women, whatever their views upon Home Rule, that their duty is clear. It is to demand that their parties, instead of blocking Woman Suffrage, shall work actively for it. This demand they will be able to enforce if they will, until it is granted, withdraw all support from their party and transfer it to that growing body of Irish women who recognise that the enfranchisement of their sex must precede all other reform.

WHY TURKEY IS BEATEN

By S. D. Shallard

Who that sees Turkey to-day, beaten, discredited, and dismembered, can fully realise how short a while it is since she astonished the world by the vigour and enthusiasm with which she appeared to be throwing off the traditions of a bad old past and emerging purified and renovated, a new Nation among the Nations?

Yet the secret of this collapse is not far to seek.

The aims and hopes of women were the nursery of the Revolution, the harems were its committee-rooms, the devotion and unremitting labour of women alone made it possible. Deserted and betrayed basely by those who owed so much to them, they have withdrawn into the bitter reflections of their own hearts and have left the Revolution to perish.

* * * * * *

There are two phases of War in particular in which women have always played a prominent part—and sometimes the leading part. These are wars of defence against foreign invasion and wars of revolution, whether against a foreign yoke or against unjust and tyrannical systems of Government.

The history of the wars of the Arabs against the Turkish yoke, of the Indians against the Moguls, of the Polish Revolution, the Spanish War of Independence, the American War of Independence, is full of stories of the part played by women in propaganda and in the organisation of defence or of revolt, and of their martial deeds on the field of battle.

If the teachings of history go for anything, it seems clear that women are far more reluctant than men to enter either upon revolutionary propaganda or physical warfare, but they are often quicker in grasping when such courses are imperative, and more determined and thorough when these are once entered upon.

In Poland's memorable struggle against French invasion it was the women who inspired the determined resistance, melting down their gold and silver jewellery and trinkets to supply funds for an army to take the field, whilst many of them went out and fought in the ranks, as in the famous cases of the heroic peasant girls of Uri and Unterwalden.

In the Spanish Wars of Independence a special Order of Knighthood was constituted for women as a result of the part they had played in the struggle.

It is hardly necessary to recall the part played by women in the American War of Independence, except to say that they were the first to see that parleying and compromising with the English Government was worse than useless, and indeed, had their urgent advice to resist the importation of taxed articles been taken at the outset, the Colonists might possibly have won a bloodless victory.

The Life of the Turkish Revolution

Just such a spirit moving among the better educated Turkish women, and expressing itself under the different circumstances of the Orient, supplied the very life and breath of the remarkable Turkish uprising against its effete and corrupt forms of Government.

In the Turkish harems it was that the word "freedom" was first whispered, and it was the boys into whose minds mothers and women teachers had instilled a healthy revolt against all the disorder, rapacity, and cruelty of the old ways, who later formed the advance guard of Young Turkey.

Those who have read the works of Pierre Loti will have gathered many vivid pictures of the revolt of Turkish women against their enslaved conditions and against that Oriental view of their sex which unfortunately is still so strong even in Western countries like our own. Before the movement among Turkish men had spread beyond a few bands of students and little groups of philosophers, the women were already at work groping their way towards emancipation.

Inspiring literature was smuggled into the harems concealed in bales of merchandise and distributed cautiously to the women callers, a method of propaganda which later was to prove invaluable to the revolutionary party.

All this was already going on as far back as the seventies. At that time the great need felt by women was for the education of girls, and many women voluntarily became teachers, some of the harems becoming centres for informal classes.

One such woman was Rafeka Hanoum, daughter of Kiamel Pasha. In 1880, when she was a girl of about eighteen years, she refused to enter on marriage, and trained for a teacher. Shortly after, she became a teacher in a Stamboul girls' school. Among her pupils was the sister of the Sultan, afterwards an active member of the Young Turks.

It was by such women that the floating sentiment for freedom was crystallised. They brought the theories of doctrinaires and the visions of poets into relation with the human life around them, for women, on whom nature has imposed the duty of ushering human life into the world and nurturing its development, have an infallible instinct for shaping human reality out of their own and others' thoughts.

Thus at its inception the new revolutionary movement was one which grew out of the women's movement, was inspired by them and was pledged to them.

This was so clearly seen by the Porte that attempts were made to root out this movement. The Sultan forbade his sister to receive men in her house at Scutari. But she managed to gather round her the young men who were afterwards among the leaders of the Young Turks, and to carry on a widespread propaganda through the harems. Women even risked and lost their reputations through acting as intermediaries between men.

A Young Life Willingly Given

One pathetic story is told of a beautiful girl, daughter of a Court favourite, whose name thus became a by-word. When the revolution was over she took her own life, and only then was it discovered that the actions which cost this girl her reputation were part of her voluntary task as a trusted agent of the Young Turks for carrying on communication between the Committee outside and their friends in the Palace.

Where is now the enthusiasm, the hopes of social progress, the passion for freedom which characterised the revolutionary movement?

As everyone knows, not a vestige of it remains.

Women were the soul of the movement. Their spirit informed it and inspired it. The Whigs and doctrinaires who constituted the Committee of Public Progress were incapable of making a revolution The women made it for them. But no sooner did these men find themselves in power than they deserted those who had placed them there.

Not content with abandoning them and all their programme of progress, they sought to curry favour with the reactionaries by crushing the women's advance towards emancipation.

One of the first results of the revolution was that women began to come into the streets openly and without the veil. They felt the fresh air of freedom blowing upon them. They foresaw a newer, franker, and happier relation between themselves and men. The new "Liberals"—as reactionary as most of our own "Liberal" leaders—had them hurried back to the veil and the harem. Husbands and fathers were allowed to drive them back not only with the lash of words, but by the lash of the whip.

It is what our Asquiths and McKennas and Churchills would like to do if they dared.

At that moment the woman's movement lay cowed and crushed. At that moment, too, the soul of the revolution went out like a flame blown out by an east wind.

Turkey became again an Oriental tyranny. All the old corruption and brutality and stupidity asserted itself. Without the souls or intellects of women to guide them, the little gang of men who misrule Turkey have proceeded from one blunder to another, from one crime to another.

The result we now see. Turkey had her chance to take her place in the comity of nations. Her men have lost it for her, and lost it perhaps for ever.

Divested of her ill-governed provinces, driven back to the Bosphorus by nations whose women are free, Turkey becomes once more an Asiatic and barbarous Power, never to take a first rank again until she has learned that no nation can for long be free whose womanhood is enslaved.

AN ARTIST'S PETITION

Boldest maid was ever seen,
In your purple, white, and green,
Preaching in arresting tones,
"Deeds, not Words," with paving stones,
Won't you concentrate your skill
On the things that make me ill?
Things that you, however rash,
Might incontinently smash?

Do not maul the pillar-box,
Nor convert our greens to rocks,
Nor select, with Parthian eyes,
Windows of the largest size;
Other objects, with results
Worthier of your catapults,
I would give you all my cash
If you'd only go and smash.

Where a building stands in state,
Sacred to the name of Tate;
Where the Derby crowds rejoice,
And you feel "Her Mother's Voice";
Where the dog lays down the law,
Pointing with judicial paw,
And designing Errant Knight
Hews the bonds of damsel bright,
Rescuing her his prey to be—
Chivalry's epitome;
Where Fred Walker's undergrad
Poses for a peasant lad,
And John Knox, with fury rent,
Curses Women's Regiment;
Where the Keeper counts the bag,
Obsequious o'er the slaughtered stag,
And the Doctor bites his thumbs
And the Crisis never comes;
Where the Gadarene, amazed,
Weeps to see his pigs go crazed,
And mad Jonah makes you wish
He'd remained inside the fish;
Where the Nymphs, in air that freezes,
Call to Etty for chemises,
And St. John's Wood's model sprawls,
Romanised to marble halls—
There on aim you need not fash;
Boldest maid, go there and smash.

Where a Queen, in manners pure,
Cold of aspect and demure,
Modest as the sun could light on,
Sits mixed up with nymph and Triton;
Where her husband, all in gold,
Matching Babylon's image old,
Canopied within the Park,
Reigns begirt with Noah's Ark;
Where a Duke, as people say,
Yawns in bronze to greet the day,
And poor Cambridge on his steed
Trembles at the motor speed,
Craving still in rainy weathers
The old umbrella for his feathers;
Where the Cobden of renown
Casts his pearls on Camden Town;
Where, like some poor bladder toy,
Johnson shrivels to a boy,
And the Griffin in dejection
Screams aloud for heaven's direction;
Where the Duke of York so high,
Like a Nelson in the sky,
And the blackened warriors glare
Round the asphalt of the Square,
Or the statesmen in frock coats
Witness women out for votes;
Where Achilles in the Row
(Like a Liberal Women's show)
Threatens, never strikes the blow—
What a joy to hear the crash
When you wander there and smash!

Last to come but first to go
Be a certain House you know;
Hideous are its weathercocks,
Perched upon each peppery-box;
Hideous its unbroken tower,
And the clock that booms the hour;
Hideous paintings round the walls
Lead you on to hideous halls—
Halls to match the speeches heard,
Paltry as a Premier's word;
Hideous Chambers where the nation
Gets a hideous legislation;
Rooms where all the hireling crew
Dines on money filched from you;
Come, then, maid, nor tarry long,
Here at least you can't be wrong;
Not a soul will care a dash
When you storm right through and smash.

H. W. N.

WOMEN IN REVOLT

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, Feb. 13—Refreshment house, Regent's Park, burnt down, damage estimated at £600-£700; attributed to Suffragettes.

Protest made by Mr. J. W. Maycock from the Strangers' Gallery, House of Commons.

Pillar-boxes attacked at Bradford and elsewhere.

Windows broken at a bank (Bow), and further damage at Bow Police-station by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was arrested. Two other arrests, one for obstruction (Miss Daisy Lansbury) and one for assault (Miss Zelie Emerson).

Friday, Feb. 14—Statement that outbreak of militancy postponed in view of national tribute to Captain Scott and his comrades.

Telegraph wires cut at Kenton, Newcastle.

Letter-box, Inland Revenue Department, Birmingham, had explosive phial dropped into it. Letters damaged at Norbiton.

Saturday, Feb. 15—During Friday night and Saturday morning golf courses attacked by means of burning and cutting at Acton, Chingford, Cromer, Frinton-on-Sea, Panteg (Pontypool), Raynes Park, Richmond, Sandwich, Sheringham, Swinley Forest (Ascot), and elsewhere.

Letter-boxes attacked at Charing Cross, Harrow, and Oxford, green paint and black fluid being used.

Monday, Feb. 17.—Windows broken at Bow by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and five others; all arrested.

Mr. Hugh Franklin arrested in the Strand on a warrant issued last December.

Tuesday, Feb. 18.—Golf greens at Bradford Moor badly damaged.

Active militancy has continued throughout the week. On Thursday in last week the papers announced that early on the morning of the day before one of the buildings used as refreshment rooms in Regent's Park had been burnt to the ground, and the outrage was attributed to Suffragists. The next dramatic event was a concerted attack upon golf links during the week-end, also attributed to Suffragists, which resulted in damage amounting to some hundreds of pounds being done at more than a dozen clubs in various parts of the country. In none of these cases were any arrests made.

In addition to these more serious events, much damage has been done to letters, both by means of paint and other defacing matter, and also through combustible material being placed in pillar boxes. More telegraph wires have also been found cut. Two militant demonstrations at Bow, on Thursday, February 13, and on Monday, February 17, resulted in several arrests being made, including those of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Daisy Lansbury. Another protest was made from the Strangers' Gallery in the House of Commons on Thursday, February 13. More detailed accounts of all these events will be found on this page.

THE FIRE IN REGENT'S PARK

The refreshment rooms entirely destroyed by fire on the morning of February 12 were those in the wooden building on the border of the cricket pitch in Regent's Park. At half-past seven, when the outbreak was discovered, the interior of the building was practically destroyed, and by the time the flames were extinguished nothing remained but the wooden walls and the stone chimney-piece. It was stated that as many as nine fire engines arrived on the scene, but not in time to save the house, the heavy fog having concealed the fire in its earlier stages.

Several empty petrol cans were found in the vicinity of the wreckage, and on the gravel path which surrounded the building the familiar words, "Votes for Women," were roughly scratched. From this evidence the park officials have come to the conclusion that the fire was planned and carried out by Suffragists, though no clue as to their identity has been forthcoming. An immense crowd visited the scene on the day following the outbreak, and a police patrol was required in order to protect the ruins.

PROTEST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On February 13 another protest against the Government's treatment of women was made by a man in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons. During a speech by the Unionist member for Uxbridge on Indian silver, which was being delivered to a very small audience, Mr. J. W. Maycock advanced to the front of the Gallery and said loudly, "I protest against your brutal treatment of women!" He had great difficulty in finishing his sentence, as the plain clothes detectives, who now form a large section of the "strangers" in the Gallery, seized him, pulled him to the ground, a hand being placed over his mouth, and then bore him out. After a few minutes' detention he was conducted out of the precincts of the House and allowed to go free.

Mr. Maycock is a member of the Men's Political Union.

MILITANT INVASION OF GOLF LINKS

Most of the attacks upon golf links were carried out in the early hours of Friday morning, February 14. Greens are known to have been damaged at the following clubs:—

Acton.
Bradford Moor.
Brancaster.
Bushey Hall.
Chingford.
Clacton-on-Sea.
Cromer.
Frinton-on-Sea.
Leicester.
Mid-Surrey.
Panteg.
Pontypool.
Raynes Park.
Sandwich (Royal St. George's).
Sheringham.
Stoke Poges.
Swinley Forest.

In most cases the greens were torn up with trowels, and words burnt in with acid, conveying messages such us "Votes or War," "Justice before Sport," "No Votes, no Golf," "Peace with Honour," "Better be Hostile than Indifferent," and the ever familiar "Votes for Women" and "No Surrender."

No fewer than nine of the greens of the Mid-Surrey course (Richmond) were torn up, and the 18th hole was decorated with purple, white, and green colours fastened to the ground with hairpins. At Acton, where a competition had been arranged for Saturday, the damage is estimated at £150. Servants sleeping at the Acton clubhouse were disturbed about four o'clock in the morning by the noise of a motor-car and the sound of women's voices and subdued laughter. Six empty medicine bottles lying on five burned greens showed when daylight came the purpose of the nocturnal visitation.

At Panteg golf links, near Pontypool, in addition to damaged greens, the pavilion was broken open and damaged. Boots were cut and bags were damaged. Impressions were taken of three footprints of ladies' boots. The local suffragists denied knowledge of the perpetrators of the damage.

A report was circulated on Monday to the effect that the links at Walton Heath, where Mr. Lloyd George frequently plays, had been badly damaged. This afterwards turned out to be untrue, which is not, perhaps, surprising, as for the past fortnight the most stringent precautions have been taken to prevent a possible attack by militant Suffragists, and fifty caddies, "selected for their strength," according to the *Times*, have been placed on the course to guard it, day and night.

No Arrests!

Again, no arrests have been made in connection with the damage thus done. Late on Friday night three women and a man were seen hurrying in the direction of the affected links at Cromer. The names and addresses of three women strangers who were observed on the Sheringham course on Friday and Saturday were taken before they left for London on the latter day; and at Sandwich, suspicion has fallen on two women who, arriving from London on Friday night, missed the last train back and went to Deal by cab. But beyond these meagre clues no evidence seems to be forthcoming as to the authors of the depredations.

More Business for Insurance Companies

It is stated that in consequence of the recent raids on golf greens, Lloyd's underwriters are now being asked to insure against damage to the greens in various golf courses. Many insurance policies were taken out on Monday last. So once more the militants have put money into the pockets of the Insurance Companies. The *Times* is pleased to be humorous as follows on the matter: "The rate quoted on each green is £1 for twelve months, underwriters to pay any claims for damage to each green up to £50. The terms provide, however, that all the eighteen holes of the course are to be insured, for it is thought that, but for this provision, the clubs would be disposed to insure greens close to highways or comparatively accessible in other ways to Suffragist raids and leave greens less liable to damage to take care of themselves. Also the insurance of the eighteen greens allows some play for average. The annual premium to be paid by each club will therefore be £18, and the limit of liability for underwriters will be £900. Such a loss could occur only if injury amounting to £50 were done to every green on the course—destruction which could scarcely be regarded as a reasonable possibility even in the wildest dreams of the militant women."

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* wrote on Monday last:—

"No golfer is, of course, enthusiastic about the silly mischief which some militant suffragists have done to the greens, but it is possible to find one or two who look on the matter in a characteristic sporting way. One such sportsman was explaining to me to-day that as the business of golf was to get over difficulties, and as many clubs, for instance, were constantly spending money in putting up new bunkers, a little bunker or two on the green or a few bald patches only increased the difficulties, and gave new opportunities for your skill. He mentioned, by the way, that the bogey in his club at the injured holes had been increased by two. He touched on the new shots which the new hazards brought into play, and seemed rather proud about a little lofting shot with an undercut by which he had carried a nasty little bunker one foot from the hole. He spoke of it as, after all, only a new form of stymie. He expected to see the golf-club makers with a new suffrage lofting putter on the market in a day or two. He was told that a man who talked like that was liable to be expelled from his club."

Heaven Will!

The secretary of the Professional Golfers' Association, which numbers about 850 members, is reported to have said in a Press interview: "If any of these women are caught damaging the links I do not believe they will be handed over to the police. The best way would be to withdraw police protection from these women, and heaven help them if they are caught."

We are reminded of the Welsh steward who said to a woman selling VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the Albert Hall on the occasion of the Welsh Eisteddfod in 1909, "If any of your women are inside the Hall to-day and dare to make a disturbance, heaven help them!" "Heaven will," was the quick reply, "for it is always on the side of the right."

PILLAR BOXES

A number of pillar boxes have been attacked in various parts of the country. For instance, considerable damage was caused at Bradford last Thursday, where black fluid was poured into the main letter box. On Friday, again, upwards of a hundred letters were damaged at Oxford by an inky substance, and green paint in a tube was also put into the letter box at Charing Cross Post Office. On the same day it is alleged that an unknown Suffragist dropped an explosive phial into the Inland Revenue Department's letter box at Birmingham, which at the time contained paper money to the value of £5,000. When the phial exploded, however, the post office officials claim that they managed to save the contents of the box.

TELEGRAPH WIRES CUT

Telegraph wires to the north of Kenton, Newcastle, were found on Friday afternoon to have been cut. The damage was attributed to Suffragists, as on a label attached to a telegraph pole was found the strange device, "Votes for women."

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Evelyn Cotton Haig	Jan. 29	1 month
Miss Margaret McFarlane	„ „	1 „
Miss Nora Newton	„ „	1 „
Miss Marie Neill	„ „	1 „
Miss Margaret James	Feb. 5	6 months
Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles	„ „	3 „
Miss Mabel Muriel Schofield	„ „	3 „
Mrs. Branson	Feb. 10	2 „
Miss Zelie Emerson	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
Miss Annie Lansbury	„ „	1 month „ „
Mrs. Moor	„ „	1 „ „ „
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	„ „	2 months' „ „
Mrs. Eva Watson	„ „	1 month „ „

In Tullamore Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Mrs. Cousins	Jan. 28	1 month hard labour
Mrs. Connery	„ „	1 „ „ „
Mrs. Purser	Jan. 30	1 „ „ „

In Brixton Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Mr. William Lansbury	Feb. 18	2 months' hard labour
Mr. Hugh Franklin	„ „	On remand

WINDOWS BROKEN AT BOW

Mr. Lansbury's Daughter Arrested

Two militant demonstrations have taken place during the week in the constituency of Bow and Bromley, the scene of the late parliamentary contest, when Mr. George Lansbury stood for re-election. On Thursday evening, February 13, following a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union in the Bow and Bromley Hall, some two or three hundred women came out of the hall to march round the district. They were headed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. When the procession reached the Bow branch of the London, County and Westminster Bank, stones were thrown, and a window in the bank, valued at £4 10s., was broken. Three arrests were made. (See below.)

THE SECOND DEMONSTRATION

Another Suffragist meeting was held in Devons Road, Bow, last Monday evening, at which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was one of the speakers. After the meeting a militant protest was made in Bow Road, where windows were broken in Bromley Public Hall, Bow Liberal Association, and some shops. In connection with these disturbances the following Suffragists were arrested:—Miss Annie Lansbury and Mr. William Lansbury (daughter and son of Mr. George Lansbury), Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Zelie Emerson, Mrs. Alice Moor, and Mrs. Eva Watson. They were brought up at the Thames Police Court on Tuesday morning. (See next page.)

A MILITANT PROTEST POSTPONED

It was stated in a Press interview by an official of the Women's Freedom League that "a militant protest of an emphatic character" which had been arranged to take place on Thursday in last week was deferred in consequence of the Memorial Service being held on that day in St Paul's for the Antarctic heroes.

IN THE COURTS

Friday, Feb. 14.—At the Thames Police Court, before Mr. Leycester:—

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, for damaging plate glass window at the London, County, and Westminster Bank, Bow Road, fined £1 10s. and £4 10s. damages, or six weeks' imprisonment. For damage at Bow Police-station, fined 20s., and 4s. damage, or fourteen days' imprisonment.

Miss Zelie Emerson, for using "insulting" words, throwing stones, and assaulting a police inspector, fined 40s. for throwing stones, or a month's imprisonment; 21s. for assault, or fourteen days' imprisonment.

Miss Daisy Lansbury, for inciting Miss Sylvia Pankhurst to resist her lawful apprehension. Defendant denied charge, and was discharged.

Tuesday, Feb. 18.—At Wealdstone Sessions, Mr. Hugh Franklin, brought up on a warrant, remanded in custody, bail being refused.

At the Thames Police Court, before Mr. Leycester:—

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Eva Watson, Miss Annie Lansbury, Mrs. Alice Moor, for damaging a window at Messrs. Selby and Sons, Bow Road, value £3 10s. Miss Pankhurst sentenced to two months' hard labour, each of the other defendants to one month's hard labour.

Mr. William Arthur Lansbury, for damaging plate glass window at Bromley Hall, value £3 10s., two months' hard labour.

Miss Zelie Emerson, for damaging a window at the Liberal Association, Bow Road, value £2 8s., two months' hard labour.

Wednesday, Feb. 19.—At the London Sessions:—

Miss Editha Ball, Miss Sarah Benett, Miss Margaret Haley, Miss Clara Lambert, Miss Pleasance Pendred, and Miss Jane Shortt, all charged with window-breaking to the value of over £5. Remanded till to-day (Friday).

THE CASES IN DETAIL

Friday, Feb. 14

On Friday, February 14, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Zelie Emerson, and Miss Daisy Lansbury were brought up before Mr. Leycester at the Thames Police Court.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was charged with breaking a window in the London, County and Westminster Bank, and further with breaking a window in the matron's room at the police station. The defendant admitted that she meant to break the Bank window but did not succeed, and she called a witness to prove this. She admitted breaking the window at the station. She would like to say why she did it. Doing what she did was the only way they could get the franchise. She went there to make disorder, and did it that they might bring the question of "Votes for Women" to victory. If sent to prison she intended to go on the "hunger strike."

Mr. Leycester said he believed defendant's stone struck the Bank window, and he was obliged to convict on both charges. He had nothing to do with the question of motive. On the first charge she would be fined £1 10s, and £4 10s., the amount of the damage, or six weeks' imprisonment; and on the second charge 20s. and 4s., the amount of damage, or fourteen days'.

Miss Emerson was fined 40s. for throwing stones, or a month's imprisonment, and 21s. or fourteen days' for the assault. Both defendants elected to go to prison.

Fines Paid Again!

The following day, at noon, both Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Zelie Emerson were released from Holloway Prison, their fines having been paid by some person unknown. Both had refused food while in prison, and had been on the hunger strike for twenty-four hours.

It will be remembered that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's fine was paid in the same mysterious way on February 5, when she was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for obstructing the police on the occasion of Mrs. Drummond's attempt to interview Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons.

Mr. Lansbury's Son and Daughter Sentenced

On Tuesday, February 18, as a sequel to the second militant protest in Bow Road (see preceding page), six defendants surrendered to their bail in the Thames Police Court, including the son and daughter of Mr. George Lansbury. Of these, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Zelie Emerson (both recently released on the payment of their fines), and Mr. William Arthur Lansbury, charged with breaking windows, were sentenced to two months' hard labour without the option of a fine; and Mrs. Alice Moor, Mrs. Eva Watson, and Miss Annie Lansbury, on a similar charge, to one month's hard labour, also without the option of a fine.

Mr. William Lansbury, who gave his occupation as a timber merchant, admitted that he had broken the window, and said he should continue to break windows in order to compel the Government to take action in regard to the poor and women's rights.

Mr. Leycester said it was no use pointing out the folly of such conduct, and sentenced him to two months' hard labour.

Miss Pankhurst said a few days ago someone paid her fine against her wish, so she came again. If they could get a state of turbulence in the East End and other parts they would get the vote. She would again do the "hunger strike."

Mr. Leycester sentenced Miss Pankhurst to two months' hard labour, saying if she liked to behave like common riff-raff she must be treated as such.

MR. FRANKLIN'S CASE

It will be remembered that Mr. Hugh Franklin refused to answer a summons to appear at Wealdstone Court House on December 17 on a charge of endangering the safety of passengers on the Great Central Railway by setting a railway carriage on fire. (See VOTES FOR WOMEN, December 20.) A warrant for his arrest was at once issued, but was not put into execution until last Monday, when, as Mr. Franklin was crossing the Strand about two o'clock, he was summarily arrested by a constable. Mr. Franklin asked to see the warrant, which, however, was not produced until he was taken to Bow Street. Bail was refused, and he at once started the hunger strike as a protest, and had therefore been without food eighteen hours when he was brought up at Wealdstone Court House on Tuesday and charged as stated above.

Evidence of identification was taken, and Mr. Franklin protested that the usual means of identification had not been employed in his case, as the witness (a railway official) had not been asked to pick him out from several others. Witness observed that it would not be difficult to pick *him* out.

The defendant was remanded until next Tuesday, and was removed to Brixton Gaol, bail again being refused. Still protesting against this, Mr. Franklin announced his intention of persisting in the hunger strike until he was allowed bail. As we went to press, we received the news that he had been forcibly fed.

THE IRISH SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

We are glad to be able to announce that the three Suffragist prisoners in Tullamore Gaol have now been accorded full political rights. The memorial addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, to which signatures have continued to pour in at the Dublin offices of the Irish Women's Franchise League, has therefore been closed. It is worth recalling, perhaps, that the prisoners in question were promised last Sunday week, after seven days' fast, that these rights would be accorded them on condition that they resumed their food. The promise, as we stated last week, was not kept in several particulars, relating to writing materials, newspapers, furniture, &c., and visitors were received in a sort of wired cage "visiting box," instead of a reception room. These indignities have now been removed.

Mrs. Hoskin, who was released in a state of collapse before the hunger strike came to an end, is still in a serious state of health, largely owing to the fact that when the order for her release came, the authorities, anxious no doubt to conceal her condition from the people of Tullamore, hurried her off to Dublin by train, and so brought on a heart attack. She is now having every care, and is slowly making her way to recovery.

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

A great deal of interest was aroused by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article on "Militancy for Non-Militants," which appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN on February 7. It was much commented on, both in the London and provincial Press, and we have received a good deal of correspondence on the subject, some of which was unavoidably held over last week owing to great pressure on our space. We give below a selection from the communications that have been sent to us.

We have received the following from the Women's Freedom League:—

"The Women's Freedom League has noted with deep interest the policy outlined by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on the subject of a 'middle course' for suffragists who feel the need for strong action, but who are not disposed to commit attacks on property. The National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League desires to point out that such a policy, and such lines of action, have already been given full exposition by the 'War against Law' campaign of the W.F.L., a campaign which has included in the past some of the most effective and educative protests the women's movement has known. . . . .

"The demand now is for a Government measure; the policy continues anti-Government; active militancy was resumed the instant the pledges of the Prime Minister were falsified; and a campaign against the improper encroachments upon the rights of women citizens will be carried on 'persistently and continuously'—in the words of the resolution carried overwhelmingly by the March Conference—until justice is obtained. 'War against Law'—law which excludes women from the prerogatives granted by the Constitution, the administration of law which differentiates between the sexes to the disadvantage of women—against Government without consent, and legislation without control, will be waged unflinchingly. The Women's Freedom League takes its stand upon the position as defined long years ago by Sydney Smith, one of the most famous of suffragists: 'The enfranchisement of women is the law of the land. Not the law, but the lawyers, keep her from it.' And until this truth is recognised the League will refuse to recognise the authority of the law, as administered by lawyers.

"In regard to the first of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's suggestions, that a policy of opposition to the Coalition be embarked on, the W.F.L., except for a brief period during which the Conciliation Bill campaign was being carried on, has held to this line of action. When Labour candidates have been supported at by-elections it has not been by virtue of any arrangement with the Labour party, but with a view to furthering the anti-Government policy by splitting the Liberal vote.

"The second suggestion, of determined questioning on all platforms at public and semi-public gatherings, has been carried out by the W.S.P.U. It has roused such frenzies of insensate fury that we fear very few non-militant women would regard it as eliminating the risk of the 'violence' they so shrink from.

"The third, resistance to law, such as tax and Insurance Act resistance, was inaugurated by the W.F.L., and has been carried out continuously for some years. Many other societies joined enthusiastically in this form of protest just as they joined in the census evasion, another effective form of resistance emanating from the Freedom League, and at the present moment the headquarters office and many of its provincial officials are defying the Insurance Act, and await the action of the Government. Our campaign to-day includes not only these forms of 'passive resistance,' but resistance to other laws, to police regulations, to the rules of police and criminal courts, and a long series of 'war against law' protests which do not include acts of violence. It is evident, therefore, that the Women's Freedom League effectually bridges over the gap specified by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence."

(Mrs. Lawrence's answer to the above statement will be found in her article "Political Militancy," on page 295.)

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In VOTES of the 4th inst. you say you will welcome suggestions. I therefore venture to offer you one or two. In the present crisis, as always, the main obstacle to success is the inertia of the electorate. The great mass of the people remained indifferent, even in the times of the great civil war. The more important political reforms have always been effected by a resolute and self-sacrificing minority, except of late years, when they have sometimes been engineered to catch votes. Everything depends on the capacity for self-sacrifice of the reformers, for mere reason is wasted on deaf or indifferent ears. It is a sad fact that the best way of arousing the conscience of Englishmen would appear to be to make their position insufferable, and, above all, to hit them in the pocket. Be it remembered that, in these days of cut-throat competition, the loss of a single customer is a serious matter to most traders. It makes them reflect! I would suggest, for the consideration of moderate militants, plans which imply but little self-sacrifice and which are perfectly legal. On this latter point, I have taken the opinion of two barristers, one of them a man of great eminence, and a solicitor. Exclusive dealing is a principle capable of development in many ways, and for quite a year I have known suffragists who had it in their minds.

(1) Wherever a constituency is represented by an "anti" or indifferent suffragist, residents might withdraw their custom from traders within the constituency (stating that they do so from no other cause of dissatisfaction than that the constituency and its member are not doing their duty *re* suffrage), and might transfer custom to traders in constituencies represented by well-tried suffragist M.P.'s, again stating the reason of transfer. This would not be difficult in cities having parliamentary divisions, for it would only mean a short walk or cheap fare from one constituency to another; while in the country it is perfectly easy, with a little forethought, to get all the goods one requires (bread and milk excepted) transported carriage free. If only ten families in a constituency should transfer their custom, at least 100 traders would be affected.

(2) Women traders can be employed exclusively, reason for transfer being given as above.

(3) Goods from colonies where the female franchise obtains could be ordered in preference to British goods, or British goods excluded altogether wherever practicable, reason being given for the change.

(4) A plan adopted by a well-known suffragist is to go to her tradesmen, accompanied by a witness to what she says. She asks: "Are you in favour of woman suffrage?" If the trader says "Yes," she produces a strong letter addressed to the sitting member, and asks the trader if he will sign it. If he does, she posts it *herself*. If he will not do so, or if he is an "anti," she withdraws her custom.

(5) For my part, I have found a very effective plan is to refuse all personal service and donations *from everything*, stating my reason and devoting my energies and purse (none too well weighted, alas!) to the suffrage cause. Donations might, however, be held over, with a promise to give them in full when the cause is won.

(6) Some people might choose to attend only such places of worship as where the clergy are awake to our great ethical and religious movement. And places of entertainment which are run by suffragists might be exclusively patronised.

There are many similar plans which will occur to thoughtful people. And as many of these as practicable might be employed by each suffragist. I believe a movement for "exclusive dealing," once afoot, would spread, and give yet another jolt to the feeble heart and sluggard brain of M.P.'s and electors. Both organs are there, but require continued prodding to act, and it is only by the resolute will of the few that anything is ever done. I believe such plans as those I have indicated would prove an excellent spur to rouse the slow conscience of the community to its duty and responsibility, and would help in urging that vast mass of folk who mainly desire comfort and lucrative security, if not to better things, at least, to perceive that they will not possess their boon until justice be done.—Yours, &c.,

WM. BOULTING.

31, Argyll Mansions, W.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I suggest, after reading carefully and with deep interest, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's admirable article, that there appears another method that could be adopted by non-militants. I refer to an organised and widespread withdrawal of women's money and honorary work in connection with churches and charities. If one reflects a moment it is evident that without the assistance of women (given so ungrudgingly and unselfishly, and accepted for the most part as a mere matter of course) parish and philanthropic work of all kinds would be sadly handicapped. Therefore if women would combine in large numbers—for only in large numbers could the scheme be effectual—to stop their subscriptions and cease their personal service until the vote is won, the consequent loss and inconvenience would call public attention to women's demand for political enfranchisement.—Yours truly,

L. A. M. PRIESTLEY MCCRACKEN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I appeal to all women to do what is in their power to aid the cause of suffrage by making it clear that they insist on the employment of trained and qualified women in the following ways:—(1) The Assurance Societies. Many women wish to be examined for a life policy or for an annuity by a woman doctor rather than by a man. How many such societies employ women? (2) They should refuse to subscribe to all societies or hospitals on whose boards women are not represented. If women feel they cannot do this, may I ask them at least to specialise in contributing to hospitals for women and for children, and, above all, to maternity institutions? (3) They should demand that on women's societies a certified woman accountant shall be employed before the next year when their subscription is due. (4) When they refuse to subscribe to any cause except to the progress of women's suffrage, they should clearly state the reason.

Old things and ways have passed, and men are not necessarily willing—if women are—to support the superfluous sister. Therefore, we should help her on. We women should have some conscience in the matter, and, by touching the pockets of men who automatically receive many appointments for which women are more fitted, get men to realise that we can exercise the power of the purse in legitimate ways, and so support those women who have gone through the same expensive and arduous training and examinations as men have. It is hopeless to expect professional men to realise all this without pressure on our side.—Yours, &c.,

J. WILSON.

10, South Hill Park Gardens, Hampstead.

A SPIRITUAL MILITANCY LEAGUE

A Spiritual Militancy League has been formed under the leadership of Mrs. Stanton Coit, with the object of showing in a militant manner without violence that Woman Suffrage has a spiritual connection, and is not a purely secular movement. In the Ethical Church, Bayswater, last Sunday, a band of women, dressed in black and wearing orange scarves, attended the service, "as a demonstration of spiritual militancy against injustice to English womanhood." Mrs. Stanton Coit thus describes the objects of the League:—"We intend to visit the churches," she says, "and, with these orange scarves, we shall surely challenge the attention of the public. We shall make no disturbance; if anyone wishes to do that she must not join us, for nothing is further from my intention. Next Sunday evening we have been invited by Dr. Cobb to go to St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate, and I hope others of the clergy of the Church of England, as well as some of the Nonconformist ministers, will offer us a welcome. We mean to begin with such churches, and later we shall decide as to further plans."

Mrs. Lilian Sauter, sister of Mr. John Galsworthy, is acting as temporary Hon. Secretary of the League. Orange scarves can be obtained on application to Mrs. Stanton Coit, 30, Hyde Park Gate, W.

WHY SOME WOMEN ARE MILITANT

"A Yorkshire Mother" draws our attention to a case reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, February 13, in which a man, described as "of independent means," was charged with decoying two little girls of eight years old to his lodgings and there assaulting them. He denied both charges, but the Bench considered one case proved, and *imposed a fine of £10 and costs.* Our correspondent adds this comment: "Is this really the price at which Englishmen value the souls and bodies of our little girls? And they wonder that women go out and break windows!'

Where Women Need Not Be Militant

Merely for reducing the bail from £600 to £200 of a man charged with assault upon a young girl, Judge Weller, of San Francisco, stands a chance of being recalled owing to the strong action of the women, who in California have votes, and therefore *count* as citizens. It appears, according to the *Standard*, that the defendant could not find surety for more than £200, and after depositing it, left the State. The women organised a mass meeting to denounce the judge's action, and the petition for his recall is being largely signed. Should the necessary number of signatures be obtained, Judge Weller will have to stand again and face the determined opposition of the women electors.

What would those Californian women think of a little girl's body and soul being valued at £10—the £10 of a "gentleman of independent means"?

DOES ENGLAND LEAD THE WAY?

Speaking before the Hungarian Electoral Reform Committee at Budapest, on February 13, Dr. Lukacs, the Premier, referred to the numerous petitions which had been sent in demanding the inclusion of women in the Government's new Reform Bill. According to Reuter, he justified his opposition to this demand by citing the case of Great Britain, *where Parliament opposed it in spite of the most violent agitation.* There would, he continued, be little justification for extending the franchise to Hungarian women, *when a country which had attained such a high degree of civilisation as Great Britain had rejected it.*

MORE LETTERS FROM LIBERAL WOMEN

A number of letters from Liberal women have reached us during the week, commenting on our attitude towards the new offer made by the Government to women. From these we select the following:—

Dear Sir, — I have bought several copies of last week's Votes for Women, and am sending them to some of the members of the local Women's Liberal Committee. The "Solicitor's View" in this week's number is really entertaining—one wonders where he has gained his knowledge of womankind. He appears to divide them into two classes, "fickle and irresponsible creatures," and "unsexed fanatics." All his women, too, apparently, live either in the drawing-room or the kitchen. Most of the women of my acquaintance give time to both, and they also find time to read the newspapers, attend lectures, do some bit of work for the common weal, interest themselves in their country, and, as the Bishop of Oxford has said, nine-tenths of the work of the Church is done by women.

I am intimately associated with the women of the "working classes" as Hon. Secretary of a large society of women. To call the mothers of our working-class homes "fickle and irresponsible creatures," shows lamentable ignorance. What of all our women teachers, hospital and other nurses, our women graduates and doctors, artists, authors, women engaged in trade and commerce, &c.?

Further, to refuse the responsibility of citizenship to women and then condemn them as irresponsible, suggests that the writer belongs to the class that have no "reasoning power."

If the country is "deteriorating" so rapidly, is there not a possibility that it is due to the fact that women's voice and influence have not been felt in the councils of the nation? And if women are either "fickle and irresponsible creatures," or "unsexed fanatics," how is it that appeals are being made to them from platform and press to instil into their men-folk, their husbands, sons, brothers, the principle of patriotism, and the need for training to defend their country?

Your solicitor says he is offering "criticism," but surely it is abuse? To publish such a letter can do our cause nothing but good; it is so obviously bitter and unreasoned.—Yours, &c.,

"Out on Strike."

A Liberal woman writes:—

"I am afraid it is impossible for me, as it is for most Liberal Women, to give you any support in your campaign so long as I find such sentiments as those expressed on page 273 of the issue of Votes for Women of the 7th inst. In this you propose to continue that indiscriminate opposition to all Liberal candidates, which is not the least foolish section of your campaign.

"My husband [a prospective Liberal candidate] has made great political sacrifices for the cause of Women's Suffrage, and it seems to me it would be very much more in accordance with the dictates of feminine common-sense that candidates who conscientiously support a movement should be supported. My only surprise is that so many candidates can be found still to give their support in view of such action as that you propose.

"I notice that you are still apparently opposed to the Insurance Act, and indeed the tone of your article gives me the impression that you are much more opposed to the Liberal Government and Liberalism than in favour of Women's Suffrage."

Dear Sir,—I quite agree that the deadliest weapon against the Liberal party is withholding our support, but it is not everyone who can do so, even if they would. I am a little in that rather unhappy position, in this way.

Our Women's Association is quite new, we have only been in existence just a year, but we are steadily increasing our membership. Now I know a good number of our members asked before they joined us whether we went in for Women's Suffrage, if we did they said they would have nothing to do with us.

When this Association was formed I was not secretary, and it was agreed not to mention the subject for a while; but I can assure you that since the secretary found she was unable to go on with the work, and I was elected to perform the duties of hon. sec. in her place, I have been doing my best in a quiet way to push this question by having home chats with the members whenever possible, and in this way many have been convinced who were opposed before the matter was chatted over in a homely fashion. I do think the individual chat with the women in their homes does far more good than public meetings, because you get to know what they think, and can give them quite a different view. Not only myself, but there are several splendid women in our Association who are doing this kind of thing to try and educate the working men's wives on this question. Well, now I come to the point. I tried very hard to be relieved of my duties at our annual meeting, but no one could be induced to take them up. Moreover, I had told many of the members I should resign, but they one and all begged me to reconsider my decision, as they said the Association would break up if I did not keep my position as secretary. Of course you will understand that there is a good deal of expense during the first year or so of a new Association, and we are entirely democratic and self-supporting, but we got through our first year with a balance on the right side, so that I do not feel I should be doing right to place the Association to any inconvenience at the commencement of our second year.

Since I have had the honour of being hon. sec. our membership has increased from thirty-seven to 117; but we are all poor women, and some only pay 6d. a year, so you see we have to work, and it is needed here in this quiet place—overwhelmingly Tory, too. But of course when the General Election comes along (and if we are not enfranchised) I shall certainly claim my individual right, apart from my official capacity, to please myself whether I work for the Liberal candidate or not. My husband is very keen on this question, and was in favour of giving votes to women long before I was, and he says I shall certainly not work for a man who is opposed to Women's Suffrage. The Guardians' Elections are soon to take place, and there will be a man seeking re-election who has asked me to assist him. He is a man in every way desirable to be worked for, and a leading Liberal, but opposed to the suffrage, and I told him that to ask a woman to use her influence with the male voter to obtain for him a certain position, by a privilege and a justice denied to the woman herself, was an insult, and I absolutely refused to render any assistance at all. Needless to say, he did not think I meant it, and as there were a lot more gentlemen there, he again appealed, as he said, to my better judgment. I said if woman's influence and judgment is so good for so many things, as you tell us it is, why should it be bad only for Parliamentary elections; and again I told him I meant what I said, and he looked nonplussed, for he is a most popular man, and I think not accustomed to be denied anything he expresses a wish for.

I am afraid I have wearied you, but I wanted to explain that although I agree with what you say in general, yet for reasons I have mentioned I must remain at my post a little longer.—Wishing the cause a speedy and lasting settlement, Yours, &c.,

L. C.

[We are afraid our correspondent is too kind to the Liberal party. If she wants to strike an effective blow for the cause she ought not to wait until she has, by her work, built up a strong women's Liberal Association, capable of doing without her; she ought to make a supreme effort to carry the whole Association with her in a policy of revolt, and failing that, she ought to resign herself while her help is still needed.—Ed. Votes for Women.]

Dear Sir,—As an Association we are anxious to forward the suffrage cause. I have sent a resolution to the Women's Liberal Federation asking them to call a special Council meeting to consider what steps to take in the crisis—we consider a firm line should be taken.

We have for some time taken the attitude not to work for any candidate unless he is strongly on our side on the suffrage question.

Personally, I go further, and would not work for any party at an election until we get the vote.—Yours, &c.,

Helen Peile.

(Hon. Sec. North-west Durham Women's Liberal Association.)

Dear Sir,—Perhaps you may be interested to know our North Lambeth Woman's Liberal Association at the Annual Meeting in October passed a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Women's Liberal Federation to remove our name from the list of its Associations, as we felt after the intolerable insult of the Prime Minister proposing to enfranchise every man and no woman, it would be impossible for us any longer to support him. We formed ourselves into a Woman's Progressive Association, and hope to work for progress in every way, but particularly for Woman Suffrage. You are, of course aware this position has been adopted by many other Associations while members are on the eve of revolt.

I have always belonged to Mrs. Fawcett's Society, but I should like, if you will allow me, to express my gratitude to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and yourself for the magnificent way in which you have worked and suffered for our cause. We have worked our hardest, too, but in other ways, and those not nearly so brave and self-denying. When this part of the history of our own times comes to be written, you will both be counted among the heroes.—Yours, &c.,

Edith Briant

(Hon. Sec. Woman's Progressive Association, North Lambeth).

5, Hayter Road, Brixton Hill, S.W.

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BEXHILL LIBERAL WOMEN

There have been several secessions from the Bexhill Women's Liberal Association on account of the Government's treatment of the Suffrage question. Among them was that of the President of the Association Mrs. Strickland, who, in the course of a letter to the *Bexhill Observer*, thus explains her action:—

"The Liberal Women Suffragists, who have seceded from the party, for many long years honestly and strenuously endeavoured to work loyally for it, believing that in due time this party would put its principles into practice where the women are concerned; that the Liberal Government would give effect to the long drawn out cry of women for political enfranchisement, and that after Bill upon Bill to give votes to women had passed a second reading in the House of Commons, the Government would 'play the game,' and yield to their just demand. All the world knows how the game has been played. Politicians of all parties know how the women have been fooled, betrayed and driven from their posts again and again by unworthy tactics and deception at Westminster. All the thinking world knows, too, that Members of Parliament who have been returned to the House of Commons, to the number of more than 400, pledged to support the Women's cause, have, when the critical moment arrived, turned their backs on it and broken their pledges—some of them out of loyalty to the Prime Minister! . . . So long as the present Government declines to undertake the responsibility of introducing a Women's Bill, so long will all real Suffragists stand aside from the party. They now realise . . . . how impossible it is for the Liberal women who hold this cause dearer, and riper for solution, than any other, to lend themselves any longer to work for the party which ignores its fundamental principles, where the women are concerned, and, whilst asking their help and services to secure the return of its supporters in the country, will make it almost impossible for these, when in Parliament, to support both the Government and the women!"

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OUR CARTOONS

A Danish View

Dear Sir,—I see in this week's issue of Votes for Women that one of your readers "does not like the cartoons." Well, I suppose tastes differ, but speaking for myself, I must admit that I generally enjoy the cartoon as much or more than anything else in the paper, and would subscribe to it for that alone. I think many of them are worth framing, and if I had a house of my own would have the dining-room walls covered with them, so that they might be enjoyed at meal times. Ridicule is an excellent weapon to expose egotism, hypocrisy, and deceit.—Yours, &c.,

M. A. Jensen.

27 Longangstrade, Copenhagen.

THE MEN'S POLITICAL UNION AT OXFORD

Rumours of organised bands of "undergrads" determined to have a "rag," if not actually to break up the meeting held by the Men's Political Union at Oxford, on Tuesday, February 11, did not prevent a large audience from filling the Corn Exchange in order to hear Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, and Mr. H. D. Harben speak on Votes for Women. The crowd came, the crowd saw, and after a while it listened, too, and by the time it departed the speakers had done the conquering!

Mr. Lawrence's argument was well exemplified in two sentences of his speech: "The idea that women were to be kept as delicate, fragile, hot-house flowers, not fit to enter into the vigorous side of life, was not a healthy one: it was a view good neither for women nor for men." And again, later: "The women were going to get the vote whether men wanted them to have it or not." He described the events of last March, which led to the arrest, imprisonment, and hunger strike of the leaders, and he closed with a strong appeal to men to hasten the end of the struggle by coming out and helping the women to fight for the vote.

Mr. Lansbury carried the war into the enemies' camp and gave the "raggers" a hot time, to the intense joy of the rest of the audience, even advising one persistent interrupter to "put his head under the table if he really couldn't keep his face straight." The real reason he and the other speakers were there that night was the fact that society looked upon the work of women as inferior to that of men. "So it is!" exclaimed an irate, well-fed individual, only to be mercilessly crushed by Lansbury's retort (and the homeric laughter that followed it), "Next time, mind you go and wash your own clothes and then see!" Mr. Lansbury maintained that no country could remain great that kept its women in subjection, nor could any nation advance far without its womanhood. He called forth storms of applause when he told the young 'Varsity interrupters that whenever they were willing to sacrifice one moment's comfort for any cause from which they would get not a penny in return, then they might throw stones at Pethick Lawrence for what he had done, but not till then. During the impassioned peroration to his speech the hall was quiet as a church, a great tribute to the sincerity and power of the man.

After thirty-five minutes of questions and answers the meeting ended, but even then a cluster of men hung round the speakers, loath to leave off discussing the burning question.

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SUFFRAGIST HECKLERS

Dr. Macnamara, M.P.

At Dr. Macnamara's meeting at the Nine Elms Baths last Thursday, on reference being made to Captain Scott, the members of the audience rose to their feet to do him silent honour. Yet this did not prevent these same men rising a few minutes later with cries of "Throw her out! Bang her head!" when a woman made a remark about Woman Suffrage. She was hurried out in spite of several protests from members of the audience, who (probably finding women's rights more interesting than L.C.C. statistics) said, "Give her another chance!" Later, when the speaker mentioned the burden of rates to the poor, a man asked, "What is the cost in women's lives? Men, where is your patriotism?" We have been to many meetings in support of L.C.C. candidates, and never remember hearing anything half so interesting or so human as these two remarks. Nevertheless, the man who made them was put out of the building.

Mr. Will Crooks

While Mr. Will Crooks was complaining at Camberwell Baths that the daughters of the poor had not the protection afforded to the rich, a Suffragist in the audience pointed out that the only way to put things right was by giving women the vote. Mr. Crooks turned upon him and declared that he was in favour of woman's suffrage, and then, in an angry voice, accused those who had interrupted him of being paid to do so. On being asked personally at the close of the meeting whether he intended to apply that remark to those then in the Hall, he refused entirely to withdraw it, although evidently unable to advance any proof of its veracity.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PORTUGAL

A new Electoral Reform Bill, with a provision for Woman Suffrage, has recently passed the Portuguese Republican Senate, and now awaits the decision of the Lower House. The new Ministry of Dr. Alfonso Costa is said to be favourable to the women's demand, and an early passage of the new Bill, which will for the first time establish the statutory rights of Portuguese women to vote, with a small educational qualification, is hoped for by the two feminist societies of Portugal. At present, Portuguese women have won only the legal right to vote, which is based on the success of the test case brought by Dr. Caroline Beatriz Angelo, who challenged the absence of a statutory prohibition of women's rights to vote in June, 1911, but, unfortunately, died before she was able to put her victory to the test at the next general election.

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SUFFRAGE IN AMERICA

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has just concluded its arrangements for a grand costume parade, which is to take place in Washington on March 3, the day before the inauguration of Dr. Wilson. The procession is to follow the route to be covered by the Presidential escort; and the parade will be divided into five sections, depicting different stages in the history of women's progress, some of the participators being dressed in ancient Greek and mediæval costumes. Prominent Suffragists from all over America have signified their intention of taking part, and business men and Government officials have volunteered their services as aide de camps. A novel feature of the procession will be the ascent of a woman aviator, Miss Bernetta Miller, with a message urging the granting of the ballot to women. The number taking part is expected to exceed 50,000.

Suffragists' New York-Washington March

Emulating the recent Edinburgh to London march, seventeen American Suffragists have started to march from New York to Washington. They hope to reach the Capital in time for the inauguration of Dr. Woodrow Wilson on March 4, when they will petition the President to recommend a constitutional amendment granting the franchise to women all over the United States. The distance to be covered is 250 miles, and the column is to march in military style, with an advance guard travelling two miles ahead. The walkers, who are under the command of General Rosalie Jones, include a number of wealthy women, who have taken up the cause. It is hoped that recruits will be added to the marchers' ranks on the road.

ECONOMICS AND CRIME

The United States Government has issued a pamphlet called "Relations between Occupation and Criminality of Women," showing the result of an investigation based on the following principle: "If we know that out of 100 following one pursuit twenty are in prison, while out of a hundred following another occupation only five are under sentence, there is certainly good ground for considering the first pursuit requires looking into. It will probably be found either that the conditions under which it is carried on tend to break down character, or there is something about it which attracts weak or undeveloped morality."

The results of this investigation are very significant to those who are always being told that "woman's sphere is the home." Of the 3,229 offenders, 81 per cent. came from the traditional sphere of women — housework within their own homes, or in the homes of others. While 24 per cent. of the women breadwinners of the country are engaged in domestic service, this occupation furnishes 70 per cent. of the offenders in women's prisons. While 25 per cent. of the women breadwinners work in mills and factories, in all the small-pay trades, yet they furnish only 17 per cent. of the offenders, and as against 70 per cent. from domestics!

Women engaged in trade—that is in offices, stores, telephone exchanges—have even a better record than those in factories and mills. Such women constitute 10 per cent. of all women earning their own living, but supply only 3 per cent. of those who are imprisoned.

In America social workers have been greatly encouraged by the announcement made by the New Jersey Public Service Corporation that the minimum wage paid to its 400 women employees shall be nine dollars a week.

◆

WOMEN'S WAGES IN FRANCE

Some interesting figures lately issued by the French Minister of Labour gave the total number of women who earn their living in France both as home-workers and out-workers, as 4,150,000, who are employed as follows:—

Agriculture	949,000
Factories, &c.:—	
Out-workers	1,385,000
Home-workers	540,000
Business, public services, liberal professions:—	
Out-workers	504,000
Servants	772,000
Total	4,150,000

These figures are based on the Census returns for 1906. Wages vary, of course, considerably; but according to a Commission of Inquiry in 1893, those engaged in out-work earned 3 francs (2s. 6d.) a day in the Seine Department, and 2f 10c in the provinces.

In Australia

In view of the present controversy among school teachers concerning equal pay for men and women, some particulars may be interesting to our readers of the victory won last November by the women of New South Wales, when the Clerks' Wages Board decided that the wages of typists should be £2 5s. per week, and of stenographers £2 8s. per week, "irrespective of sex, experience, or ability." Thus women typists and stenographers are placed on an equal economic footing with men in one country, at least, where women have the vote; and, according to *The Woman Voter*, the organ of the Women's Political Association in Melbourne, "equal pay is making headway all along the line," and is expected to come next in the case of the school teachers. Answering the old objection that the principle means the displacement of women by men, the *Melbourne Age* said:—"When wages are equalised—that is to say, when the principle of equal pay for equal work is enforced—the employers will no longer be tempted by the factor of cheapness to engage female clerks, but the factor of competence will remain, and it will permanently dominate the situation."

◆

AT THE SUFFRAGE CLUB

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association held a meeting at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', on February 13, with Mrs. Wingrove Cook in the chair. The subject discussed was "Women as Wage Earners," and Dr. Marion Phillips, a Kensington Borough Councillor, spoke on the necessity for organisation in all trades, especially in sweated industries. She also dwelt on the importance of the minimum wage, thus showing, incidentally, how intimately the industrial position of women is connected with their political position; and alluded to the "accepted" idea that a woman could live on less than a man. It was therefore necessary, above all, to maintain the woman's status by raising her idea of her own value.

OUR HUMOROUS PRESS

Two Birds With One Stone

We would have sent a Valentine to the Suffragettes did we not know that they would have no leisure to read it. Their full attention is occupied in mentally encouraging a flower show at the Crystal Palace.—**Globe, Feb. 14.**

We notice that when charges of window-smashing are dealt with at the Courts nowadays the sub-editors feel compelled to head the reports, "Not Suffragettes."—**Globe, Feb. 15th.**

The Spread of Suffragism

"Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. Natus 1847."—(*Everyman.*)

We aren't even to be allowed a Latin gender of our own.—**Punch.**

Chalking Their Kew

Considering the Suffragettes' habit of leaving scribbled inscriptions behind them, we are surprised to find that they did not chalk their Kew.

Since it has been suggested in the House of Commons that the militant Suffragettes should be sent to St. Helena, the islanders have, we understand, doubled their fortifications. Napoleon they could stand, but this is going a bit too far.—**Sporting Times.**

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton, Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
141, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political Reform League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Federation for Woman's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James's.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage are to inaugurate a Chelsea Branch on February 21 at the Cheyne Club, at 4 p.m. The speakers will be the Rev. C. Hinscliffe and Miss Abadam. A Parkstone Branch meeting is to be held at Church House on February 22, at 3 p.m., and a Kensington Branch drawing meeting at 4, Alfred Place West, on February 27, at 3.15. In view of the forthcoming Church Congress, to be held at Southampton in October, and the Council Meeting of the League at Brighton in July, special efforts are being made all along the South Coast.

The Jewish League for Woman Suffrage are to hold a meeting at 7, Hollycroft Avenue, Platt's Lane, Hampstead, on Sunday, February 23, at 3.15 p.m. The chair will be taken by Herbert Jacobs, Esq., B.A., and the speakers will be Philip Hartog, Esq., M.A., and Mrs. Herbert Cohen.

We are asked to announce that there will be a reunion dinner of the Deputation of February, 1909, at the Quadrant Restaurant, Regent Street, on February 24, at 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will preside. Members are asked to address all communications to Miss M. E. Thompson, 10, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead, or Miss Daisy Solomon, 98, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead.

A Mi-Carême Carnival Party in aid of the International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand, will be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Saturday, March 1, from 3 p.m. till midnight. The carnival will be opened by Miss Lena Ashwell and Mr. George Lansbury, and among the hostesses will be Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Despard, and Miss Eva Moore. There is to be a Fancy Dress Parade and competition, prizes will be awarded by ballot, and presented by Miss Ellen Terry, for the most ingenious and the most beautiful dresses. Miss Cicely Hamilton will be in charge of the waxworks. Admission 6d., by ticket purchased beforehand, or 1s. at the Hall.

The March meeting of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will be held at the Essex Hall (small), Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Madame Pascoli, and Mrs. M. E. Davies; the latter will speak in Welsh.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting of the Cambridge University Fabian Society, on Thursday, March 6, at 8.15 p.m.

The Pioneer Players intend to produce "Hamlet" in the near future. Those who think that such a production is out of tune with the modern aims of the Society may be interested to hear that Hamlet is to be played by Miss Edith Craig.

As we go to press we learn that the W.S.P.U. have appealed against the decision of the Chelsea Borough Council in refusing to let them the Chelsea Town Hall for their meeting to-day (Friday) at 8 p.m. On Wednesday the Borough Council received a W.S.P.U. deputation, and then passed a resolution, by 15 to 9, cancelling their refusal of the hall.

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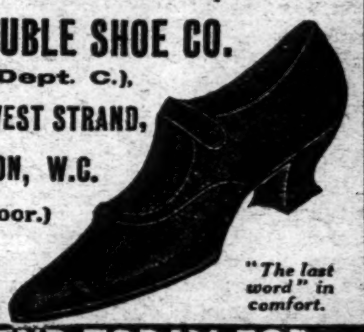

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

"Q.V.!"—Will all Suffragists at Bradford, Melksham, Calne, Corsham, and Bath write for details of our Poster Campaign?—Mrs. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, W.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, February 21, 3.30—6.15, Westminster Palace Hotel. Mrs. Fawcett, Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Mrs. Conybeare, Miss Hill.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.—Edmonton Town Hall, Friday, Feb. 21, 8 p.m. Admission free; reserved, 1s. and 6d.; unreserved, 3d. Tickets can be obtained from the above society, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE hold regular Public Meetings every Wednesday afternoon at Caxton Hall. Speakers: Feb. 26, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B.; Subject: "Florence Nightingale—the Great Woman Citizen," and Miss C. Nina Boyle, who will make a political speech. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30. Admission Free.

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